REPORT RESUMES

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YOUTH EDUCATION, PROBLEMS, PERSPECTIVES, PROMISES.

BY- MUESSIG, RAYMOND H.

ASSOCIATION FOR SUPERVISION AND CURRICULUM DEV.

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IN AN ANALYSIS OF CONTEMPORARY ADOLESCENT EDUCATION BY SEVEN MEMBERS OF A YEARBOOK COMMITTEE, FIVE PERSPECTIVES--SOCIAL-PHILOSOPHICAL, PSYCHOPHYSICAL, LITERARY, CURRICULAR, AND METHODOLOGICAL--ARE CONSIDERED, AND CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS FOR SOLVING RELATED PROBLEMS ARE SUGGESTED. AN INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER DISCUSSES THE BASIC TEEN-AGE PROBLEM AREAS OF SELF-UNDERSTANDING, WAYS OF RELATING TO OTHERS, TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS, AND THE TEACHING-LEARNING SITUATION. THE CLOSING CHAPTER DISCUSSES PROBLEMATIC ASPECTS OF ADOLESCENT EDUCATION, INCLUDING THE STANDARDIZED OR UNIMAGINATIVE PRESENTATION OF CURRICULA, EMPHASIS ON TEACHING TO THE DETRIMENT OF LEARNING, AND THE LACK OF STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN DECISIONS RELATED TO THEIR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS. A BIBLIOGRAPHIC LISTING OF REFERENCE ITEMS IS APPENDED TO SPECIFIC CHAPTERS. THIS DOCUMENT IS AVAILABLE FROM THE ASSOCIATION FOR SUPERVISION AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, 1201 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036, FOR $5.50. (JK)

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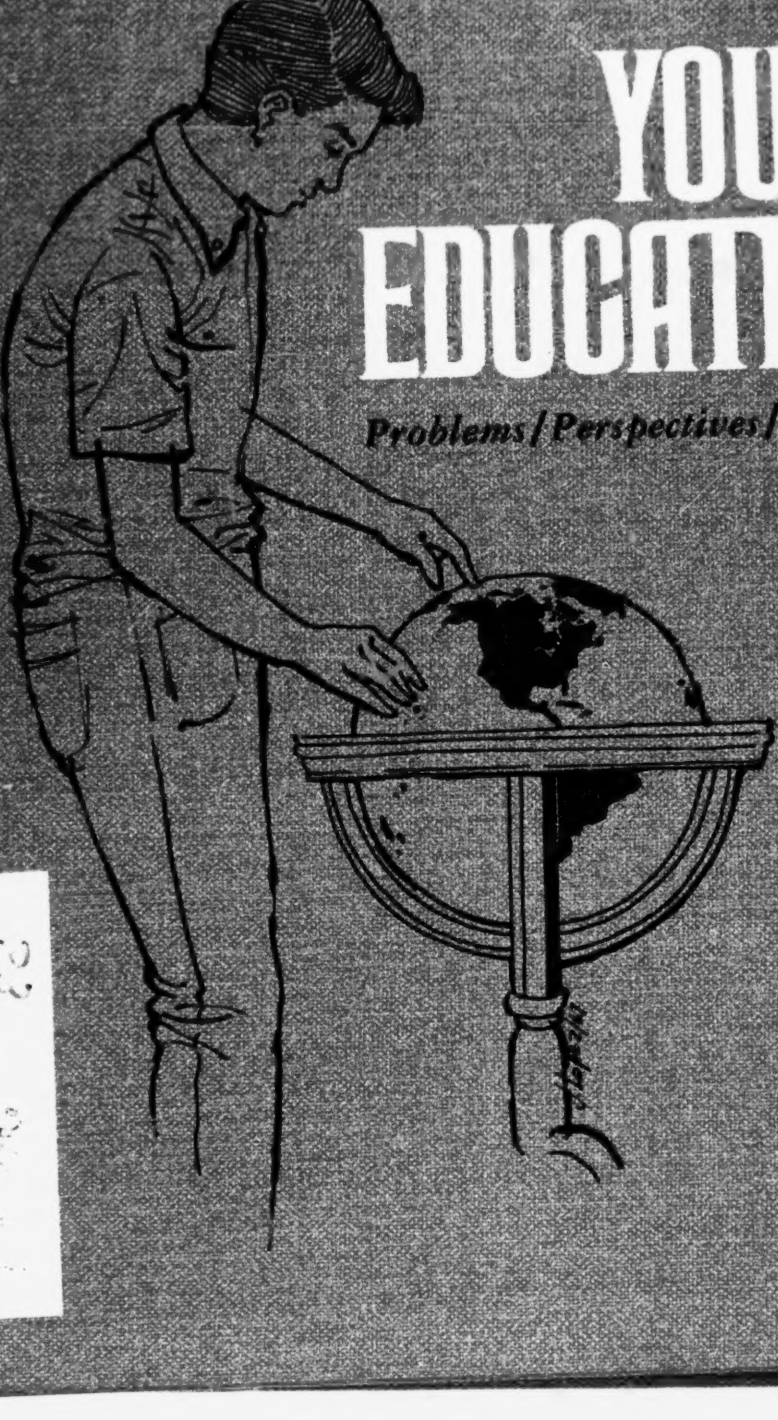

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Prepared by the ASCD 1968 Yearbook Committee

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Foreword

PERHAPS the ASCD Publications and Executive Committees should be credited with omniscience for seeing in 1964 the extreme timeliness of a book about the education of adolescents to be published in 1968. However, it is more likely that these two committees knew that this concern would never grow old and that there was new knowledge developing to bring to bear upon adolescence and teen-age education. Let us congratulate these two committees then, not for their omniscience, but for their excellent choices of a Yearbook Committee and the authors of this publication which maintain the fine traditions of ASCD yearbooks.

The continuity in this publication resulted from careful planning. A single well-developed chapter opens with the problems of teen-age education and another equally fine chapter closes the book with promises for the future. Five chapters between these two provide excellent analyses of adolescent education from different perspectives. If the reader expects a common viewpoint or a prescription for the single best curriculum for adolescents, it is not here. The constancy and consistency in this volume is knowledge and concern about the growth and development of adolescents in the school setting.

Recognizing the importance of solid skill and content subjects in behavior change, this yearbook does not attempt to relate the manner in which the content of subjects has been reselected and improved in recent years. Neither does it point to obvious needs for further integration and synthesis in the basic subjects. It is instead concerned with objectives more often forgotten and techniques much more subtle than those employed in the presentation of a typical lesson.

The "whole child" concept of the 1930's would be a good one to keep in mind for the 1970's. Conscious of the social, physical, and psychological realities impinging on youth today, this yearbook is concerned with more than cognitive development. It presents a "whole adolescent" concept within our present subject structure.

November 1967

J. HARLAN SHORES, *President 1967–1968*
Association for Supervision and
Curriculum Development

Preface

THE educators named by the Executive Committee to the 1968 Yearbook Committee were honored to receive this appointment and enthusiastic about the opportunity to participate in this project. All of the Yearbook Committee members have manifested a deep and abiding interest in the topic of adolescence and have given a significant part of their personal and professional lives to problems, perspectives, and promises associated with the education of youth. When they met for the first time in March of 1965 at the annual ASCD conference in Chicago, it was apparent that they identified closely with a number of common, overarching feelings, insights, and viewpoints regarding the wonderfully different group of human beings that our society has chosen to combine under the general, amorphous, deceptive heading of "adolescents." The Yearbook Committee appointees agreed on many educational theories, hypotheses, givens, objectives, and practices tied to contemporary research and experimentation in the vineyards of adolescent growth and development, educational psychology, evaluation, program and instructional design, and so on. But members of the 1968 Yearbook Committee differed sufficiently on specific propositions, assertions, assumptions, issues, findings, ends, and means to ensure a stimulating and fruitful dialogue. Similarities and differences in their orientations and recommendations have been preserved in this manuscript.

If there is any kind of "party line" in this Yearbook it is not there because of a directive from any source or a conscious effort on the part of the contributors to develop and reinforce a monistic approach. No writer was asked to shape his deliberations or pattern of communication for the sake of ideological or literary unity. In some respects, each chapter printed within the covers of this publication should be regarded as an essay with an entity of its own. Every member of the Committee had an opportunity to read and critique each chapter. Some chapters were revised several times in the light of comments and suggestions. But every chapter is the responsibility of the individual author and must stand or fall on what he has had the courage to put before the sophisticated and experienced eyes of the potential reading audience which this book may have.

It has been said that the duck-billed platypus—a small, aquatic, egg-laying, monotreme mammal with webbed feet and a muzzle like the beak of a duck—looks as if it were assembled by a committee. The duck-billed platypus seems to possess assets and liabilities which are consistent in some ways and inconsistent in others. Likewise, this Yearbook has strengths and weaknesses, congruities and incongruities associated with the composition of the Committee which put it together. It should go without saying that this treatise is not offered as a definitive work. Time and space limitations inherent in this type of publication exact their price in rigor and precision of investigation, thought, and expression. The 1968 Yearbook should be viewed as a spur to reflection, discussion, and action rather than as a blueprint for decision making and implementation.

As its title suggests, *Youth Education: Problems, Perspectives, Promises* has been divided into three basic sections. The first section, with a chapter by Sidney P. Rollins, is concerned with problems of educating secondary students in a dynamic, constantly changing, confusing, anxious, demanding, exciting age. Rollins observes that the problems of the adolescent in the school are tied directly to the problems of the school in today's society. He writes that all men face difficulties, complexities, and pressures, but that the period of adolescence brings certain societal issues into sharp focus. Rollins challenges educators to discover and perfect fresh ways of grappling with the persistent problems involved in trying to deepen self-understanding during adolescence, to extend viable and satisfying human relationships, to improve the character and quality of teacher-student interaction, and to enrich the teaching-learning situation.

The second section of this Yearbook is composed of five chapters which examine the education of youth from social-philosophical, psychophysical, literary, curricular, and organizational-methodological perspectives. The chapter on social-philosophical perspectives by Raymond H. Muessig discusses facets of the democratic social philosophy and their implications for the education of youth. Using three tenets frequently associated with the democratic faith—the dignity and worth of the individual human personality, the intelligence and rational capacity of man, and freedom with responsibility—Muessig looks at some practices in secondary schools which fall short of our societal values. He also develops various proposals pointed toward actions that educators might carry out to make democracy more meaningful and operational in our schools.

William W. Wattenberg has written the chapter given to a psychophysical perspective which views educational issues in the context of the ways in which individuals develop during their teen years. Wattenberg summarizes facts concerning adolescent growth and maturation and suggests some criteria, derived from these facts, for use in appraising the validity of school activities. He treats dimensions of adolescent variability including puberty, physical health, intellectual adeptness, cognitive style, anxiety levels, achievement motivation, self-concepts, and arousal and curiosity. Wattenberg recommends criteria by which educators can judge the curriculum, such as diversity, role distribution, excitement and challenge, philosophizing, socializing and peer reinforcement, evaluation, and flexibility.

In his chapter, Anthony M. Deiulio proposes and develops the thesis that literature can be explored as a fruitful field for the study and understanding of the adolescent. He states that educators are discovering means for changing human behavior in the cognitive realm but that they are not as competent and sensitive in their handling of learnings which fall within the affective domain. Pageantry, drama, literature, and art offer appropriate and empathic means for educating the total human personality, Deiulio suggests. He adds that literature is a force of tremendous potential for educators; the literature of the fictional adolescent can constitute a supply of unusually touching insights into the nature and causes of human problems.

The curricular perspective receives the attention of Gerald R. Firth. This chapter establishes a frame of reference for consideration of the content and activities with which the adolescent deals, and analyzes four topics—the nature of curriculum, the purposes it serves, the elements it contains, and the manner in which it is structured. Firth views the curriculum as a setting for self-development, for an intermediate society, and for resources and services to assist self-directed learning. He writes that the curriculum must be structured in such a way that the appropriate aspects of content can be utilized most effectively in the development of desired experiences.

Donald Hair's chapter, with its organizational-methodological perspective, concludes the second section of the Yearbook. Hair emphasizes the point that the fundamental ills of education cannot be cured just by better organization and methodology. However, he feels that a sound, thoughtful, mature rationale can join flexible, creative organizational and methodological efforts to worthwhile program objectives. Hair observes that optimum learning for each individual secondary student is the prime standard against which organizational and methodological decisions and endeavors should be judged.

The third section of the 1968 Yearbook contains a chapter by Dwight W. Allen devoted to some promising possibilities in the education of youth. Allen states that educators should utilize fully and imaginatively the many resources available to them. He cautions his readers to be wary of the danger inherent in trading new orthodoxies for old and suggests that educational changes should start with what is needed by and right for the individual student. Allen says that every student should be presented with increased opportunities to decide what he will learn, the ways in which he would like to learn, and the manner in which he will occupy his time in school. He asks educators to examine whether they are doing all they can to order, pace, and articulate the subjects which are taught. He views the ultimate failure in education as the failure to try.

As with so many professional undertakings, this Yearbook has had to come out of the hides of the people who have worked long and hard on it. Days, nights, weekends, and even "holidays" and "vacations" have been contributed to this project. Yet through it all, the members of the Yearbook Committee have retained their dedication, patience, and sense of humor. That lasting friendships have been formed and preserved during the four years given to this endeavor is refreshing and gratifying.

The only function remaining for this brief preface is to express the sincere gratitude of the members of the ASCD 1968 Yearbook to the Publications Committee, the Executive Committee, and the ASCD Headquarters Staff for the contribution they have made to this publication.

RAYMOND H. MUESSIG
Chairman and Editor
ASCD 1968 Yearbook Committee

PART ONE

Youth Education: Problems

1

Youth Education: Problems

SIDNEY P. ROLLINS

THIS BOOK deals with adolescence—some of the problems of adolescence as they relate to secondary schools, selected perspectives on certain of these problems, and some of the changes taking place in our schools that offer promises of possible solutions to the problems. Attempting to come to grips with problems of adolescence as they relate to the secondary schools is not new to parents, teachers, and school administrators. They are involved with such problems daily. The purpose of this book is to approach the relationship between the adolescent and the school in a slightly different way in order to help clarify these relationships—and to suggest some things that might be done about them.

As the term *adolescence* is used in this book, it encompasses the period of physical, emotional, and social change that takes place between childhood and adulthood. Generally this time period includes the teen years (beginning at approximately 13 and continuing usually through high school). In this section the establishment of a highly specific definition of adolescence is deliberately avoided in order to permit the term to include the variety of approaches to adolescence described in this book.

From another perspective, adolescence can be viewed as that part of a life journey that includes the secondary school years. Each child brings to adolescence a past that he will carry, along with adolescence, into his future. The adolescent, then, brings to the secondary schools his childhood problems, his pattern of adjustment or nonadjustment to these problems, and his anticipation (fearful or happy, apathetic or enthusiastic) of adolescence and the adulthood that will follow. It is within these often tumultuous adolescent years that the life-styles of individuals tend to take more definite shapes. Soon they will be adults. Recently they have been children. During adolescence they are likely to be both.

The problems of the adolescent in the school are the problems of the school in society; the problems of the lone adolescent relating himself to the child he was and the adult he will be; the problems of man relating himself to the triumphs and failures of his past, to the peril and promise of a future he will help create. For we all play some part in the creation of the future whether we continue the patterns of the past or whether we provide some new insight, some new concept, some new understanding to the reservoir of human experience.

Cataclysmic events in the past thirty years have catapulted us into a maze that renders wise decisions imperative. As a society we are faced with an indescribably complex situation of immense promise and unequalled threat. The world is now ninety minutes in circumference. Man-made satellites photograph the moon. Students in London, Mexico City, and New York recently participated in joint debate utilizing instantaneous television transmission of every question and answer, every expression and tone of voice. The boundaries of knowledge and the assemblage of facts are expanding with unprecedented rapidity. Automation and technological advance are swiftly rendering the unskilled and the undereducated obsolete in an affluent economy. An increased population makes pressing demands on facilities, personnel, and philosophy.

It is necessary to prepare to meet the urgent and essential international problems. A reservoir of enlightened citizens who can participate in the great human issues of our times, at home and abroad, is required. Those who can cope with the vast reaches of knowledge, the flexibilities of the arts, the demands of employment, and the numberless aspects of contemporary life with efficiency, creativity, and deep personal satisfaction are needed.

We cannot afford to be forced into an either/or choice between continuity versus adaptability, abiding cultural values versus the insistent issues of contemporary life, the greatest public good versus individual fulfillment. The demands of the times and the imperative of good education require them all.

This chapter cannot be an exhaustive philosophical discourse, but without well-defined, relevant goals the schools themselves are without direction and they cannot guide their students.

Who are the adolescents—the growing millions of them? They include middle class suburbanites and the inner-city slum-dwellers. They are native residents and people recently integrated. They are academically talented and marginal achievers. They are conformers and those who are rebellious or alienated.

This chapter cannot become a sociological discourse either, but social and cultural differences affect educational goals and educational outcomes. What adolescents are is influenced by what their families are.

What they think of themselves and others helps to determine how they act. Confidence and competence are closely allied. A devalued or confused self concept and low aspiration level contribute to lower than necessary achievement in all aspects of living.

There is a serious fallacy operating in equating what the school intends to teach with what is learned, and even more with what is retained. The adolescent with all his attributes is a variable that must be taken into account or the whole educational enterprise tends to fall apart. It is trite, but nevertheless necessary, to say that we must teach the whole adolescent. There is no other choice. It has been demonstrated repeatedly that cognitive dimensions stubbornly resist separation from affective components, and both of these are interwoven intricately with the total life situation.

Neither can this chapter be a psychological discourse. But the psychosocial development of each adolescent has direct relevance to his pattern of successful academic achievement no less than it does to his life outside the classroom. It is in the human being's prolonged infancy that he first begins to learn his private definition of tenderness and hate, of compassion and insensitivity, of isolation and intimacy. It was in his earliest experiences within the family that the adolescent began to learn the competencies and/or defenses he will use to meet tomorrow's history exam. For it is parental relationships (or lack of them) that form the prototype for the adolescent's encounter with the world. Those whose early years have been guided wisely and with love are more likely to come to adolescence prepared with optimism, the ability to perceive clearly, and a readiness to utilize skills effectively. Those who enter the adolescent years with a heavy burden of guilt, confusion, hostility, and fear of adults carry these emotions into the classroom, and they distort or compete with the total substance of the curriculum.

On the one hand the maturity level of the adolescent population spreads in extraordinary degree over a range from those who are emotionally child-like and scarcely ready to venture from their homes to those who are parents themselves. On the other hand, there is a specific pattern of developing relationships with parents, self, and peers that has a general application to the particular problems of the adolescents in the schools.

The problems adolescents bring to the secondary school are not necessarily new problems. Usually it is just that adolescence brings the problems into sharper focus. Adolescents' heightened awareness of themselves —of their bodies, of their ideals, of their relationships with others—brings into clearer perspective problems that in their earlier years seemed much less significant.

Because secondary schools have not always helped adolescents to solve some of their persistent problems, problems of adolescents are sometimes identified as school problems. That is, the school is blamed for having caused the problems as well as for not having solved them, when, in fact, it is likely that adolescents might and will encounter some of these problems whether or not they are in school. It seems more accurate to say that responsibility for adolescent problems rests more or less equally upon the school and the nature of adolescence itself.

For example, the adolescent needs to learn to begin to understand himself. One of the problems of the school is to find ways to help the adolescent to develop a self-image that will enable him to achieve academically and to grow into a productive, contributing, mature, secure adult. The purpose here is not to place all of the responsibility for adolescent problems either on the individual or the institution. The purpose is to examine problems common to both, hopefully to suggest unique directions by developing fresh perspectives.

Problems of Adolescents

A short book that attempts to identify problems of adolescents, to place some of the problems into perspective, and to suggest promising solutions cannot include an examination of all of the facets of adolescence. This chapter on *Problems* considers four major problem areas of adolescents as they relate to schools.

1. *The Problem of Self-Understanding During Adolescence.* The first is the problem of the adolescent understanding himself physically, emotionally, socially, and intellectually. Traditionally secondary schools have tended to be preoccupied with the intellectual development of their pupils, and to lesser extent with their physical development. Emotional and social development occupy considerably less attention. Yet adolescents themselves, when asked to identify problems they consider significant, frequently mention emotional and social problems.

2. *The Problem of Developing New Ways of Relating to Others.* The second problem involves the need of adolescents to develop new ways of relating to others—parents, adults other than teachers, and peers. As relationships and attitudes toward parents and other adults change, relationships and attitudes toward teachers are likely to change. Relating to this changing attitude toward adults is a new focus on peers. All of these changes create problems for adolescents and for schools.

3. *The Problem of Teacher-Student Relationships.* The third problem arises from the changing relationships with adults—the adolescent's relationship with the teacher in the classroom. Adolescents are not asserting

their independence from parents only—they are attempting to develop an independence from all adults. Yet, at the same time, the adolescent continues to depend upon adults, particularly his parents and teachers, thereby creating a situation that seems infinitely complex.

4. *The Problem of the Teaching-Learning Situation.* The fourth problem involves the teaching-learning situation in secondary schools as it affects motivation, communication, curriculum, and methodology. In the classroom it is important for pupils to be motivated if they are to learn effectively. Adolescents must bear a considerable amount of responsibility for motivation, but this responsibility is not theirs exclusively. Not all motivation is extrinsic, of course. The degree of motivation engendered within the individual pupil is at least as significant as that which is generated from without. The teacher must be concerned with intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, and must assume some share of the responsibility for creating and nurturing both.

Assuming that the problem of motivation can be solved, the problem of communication remains. Unless teachers can communicate effectively with adolescents (and the reverse) high motivation can be wasted. Another facet of this problem is the need for some kind of internalization—the point at which the adolescent makes a part of himself that which he has learned. All of this affects curriculum and methodology, and motivation and communication are in turn affected by curriculum and methodology.

In recent years many of us in education have begun to suspect that there might be an acutely painful difference between what we provide for junior and senior high school pupils and what the pupils themselves feel they need. It should be understood that a distinction must be made between what are here called pupil needs, and "whims." The concern is not with short-lived passing interests, but with those that are deep and abiding and that lend themselves to worthwhile curricular activities. The teacher, then, must have the ability to discover and recognize pupil needs. At the same time, it is probable that pupils themselves might produce interesting insights into their own needs—if only we will listen. Teacher plus pupil insights into pupil needs can help to provide a more stimulating, more creative environment for learning.

We can insist, of course, that we who are educators know best what pupils need and want. We can refuse to listen to them. And we may be right. Pupils are, after all, immature. And their parents, mature though they may be, are only laymen, uninformed concerning the educational needs of their children and possessing a significant lack of objectivity about them.

Yet pupils continue to drop out of school at an alarming rate, most frequently giving an unsatisfactory school experience as their reason for leaving. True, many leave school to work or to get married or to enter the armed services. But the reason offered by the largest number of pupils is an unhappy, non-satisfying school experience.

Our schools often do not react to this attitude of pupils. Those pupils who leave school are deemed expendable. They just "don't fit" into typical school patterns. Best, then, to let them go elsewhere so that the existing curriculum and organization of junior and senior high schools are not disturbed. With these nonconforming pupils out of the way, the schools can get on with their jobs with a minimum of disruption.

We assume that those pupils who remain in school—the "non-drop-outs"—remain because the schools provide them with what they need and want. We assume that the presence of these pupils in our schools is ample evidence that what we offer them is "good" and "right."

Is it? The writers of this yearbook decided to try to find out.

Approximately 700 junior and senior high school pupils (adolescents, we are calling them) from Rhode Island to the State of Washington were questioned in an attempt to determine the extent to which they are "satisfied" with their current school experiences. Teachers and parents were interviewed, also, to discover to what extent these adults felt the needs and desires of secondary school pupils are being met.

Pupils were asked:

1. What's the best thing about school?
2. What's the worst thing about school?
3. What's good about being a teen-ager?
4. What's bad about being a teen-ager?
5. What do you think adults think about teen-agers?
6. How do you feel about this?
7. What kinds of responsibilities do you think teen-agers should have?
8. What's the best thing that ever happened to you?
9. What's the most unfair thing ever done to you?
10. If you could spend 24 hours any way you wanted, how would you spend them?
11. What would you like to be doing 10 years from now?

Pupil participants who are quoted on the following pages represent socioeconomic groupings ranging from high to low, both sexes, grade levels from 7 through 12, and small to large urban, suburban, and rural schools.

Teachers, and adults other than teachers, were asked to respond to similar questions.

The questions that were asked were not designed to provide statistical data. Rather, the questions were formulated in an attempt to obtain feeling-level responses. For example, when adolescents were asked, "What's the best thing about school?" the responses did not lend themselves to statistical analysis. But when time after time pupils indicated that the best thing about school is "being with peers," or "the friends I have," or "seeing everyone I know," it seems relatively safe to assume that the relationships that exist among pupils in school are of great importance to them.

Discussion of Problem Areas

The remainder of this chapter contains a presentation of selected adolescent and adult questionnaire responses as they relate to a discussion of the four major problem areas identified earlier:

1. The problem of self-understanding during adolescence
2. The problem of developing new ways of relating to others
3. The problem of teacher-student relationships
4. The problem of the teaching-learning situation.

Self-Understanding During Adolescence

Adolescents are particularly preoccupied with themselves. As they learn to understand themselves they are more likely to develop an appreciation for and understanding of others. And as they understand themselves better they make major strides toward adulthood. But frequently, during the adolescent years, individuals are so caught up in their own psychological, physical, and social needs that the intellectual orientation of the school becomes less important. A problem of the school is to find ways to help each pupil to develop a self-image that will enable him to reach adulthood as a secure, relatively happy individual who is confident of his strengths and potential, aware of his weaknesses, and able to make wise decisions because he has learned much and well.

Representative of many responses is that of a 17-year-old boy who attends a large suburban high school. . . . "The hard part about being a teen-ager is the growing up. The moods that a teen-ager has. The feelings and emotions. It's pretty rough sometimes." In commenting on adolescence, a 16-year-old girl attending a large urban high school said, "It's the age where problems and pressures seem the greatest." Another 16-year-old girl expressed concern that she finds herself "being very confused and depressed at times." And perhaps a 16-year-old boy echoed the insecurity of adolescence when, in response to the question, "What's bad about being a teen-ager?" he said, "knowing that someday you are going to grow up."

Through growing and extended guidance programs staffed by better-trained counselors, many schools are attempting to help pupils to understand themselves, but in most schools, counselors are available primarily to pupils with well-defined, easily identifiable problems. Yet to some degree all adolescents face the problem of learning to understand themselves.

The school cannot afford to dismiss the adolescent's need to learn to understand himself by explaining that this is not the job of the school. It *must* be the job of the school. A pupil's understanding of himself is so closely interwoven with his ability and desire to learn that one cannot separate an adolescent's social and emotional development from his intellectual and physical development. To attempt this kind of separation can result only in the creation of a school world that is far removed from reality.

We must ask ourselves, "To what extent can teachers contribute to adolescents' self-understanding? To what extent and in what ways can the curriculum provide experiences that will lead pupils to self-understanding? What changes in teacher roles are required to permit teachers to help pupils toward self-understanding?"

The schools cannot be blamed for all of the tensions of adolescence. Other tensions that feed the same problem are created by our social structure, by the adolescent's present self-image, and by some of the broader societal problems such as war and poverty. Yet the schools must assume considerable responsibility for helping pupils to develop emotionally stable self-images. On their questionnaires, and in interviews, many young people expressed great anxiety over getting into college, grades, rank-in-class, and other manifestations of our highly competitive American secondary school system. Our pupils are being examined and graded and ranked continuously, and failure becomes the ultimate penalty.

A 17-year-old girl from a large suburban high school wrote, "Sometimes the competition is not fair—as grading on a curve and not being able to get an 'A' because of being graded against honor students." A less articulate 14-year-old junior high school boy, when asked "What's the worst thing about school?" replied, "When I have to take some kind of test." An 18-year-old high school girl wrote that in her opinion the "worst" thing about school is "probably the fierce competition that is building up for grades, college entrance, scholarships, etc." Another 18-year-old girl who attends a small, rural high school wrote "As one gets older the pressures of school grow stronger. Grades are emphasized too much, and this creates competition and tension."

These comments are representative of many other similar responses. Adolescents who are attempting to learn to understand themselves are faced with many school-created pressures—and the long waiting lists in child guidance clinics throughout the country offer partial evidence that some of these pressures might be doing considerable harm.

Assuming that our social system will make it virtually impossible to eliminate competition from our school systems, can there not be some other way—some better way to permit pupils to learn and mature in their own styles, in their own patterns, at their own paces? Schools have begun to address themselves seriously to this problem. Discovering the great waste of talent that can be found among those who do not rank first, or in the "top ten percent," or among the "academically talented," schools are beginning to develop curricular patterns that enable pupils to progress at their own rates—to learn in terms of their own learning styles.

The adolescent need not be held back or warped by the system. Perhaps he should be permitted to function at his own achievement level, at his own speed, without being expected to advance at a predetermined pace in all areas of development. If we accept the notion that adolescents should be given the opportunity to progress as rapidly as they are able, and if we accept the notion that children differ in their abilities to learn, then we need to give careful consideration to organizing the curriculum so that this can happen. Is it necessary to threaten a child with a failing mark in order to make him learn in school—or leave it? Is it possible and reasonable to develop an individual curriculum for each student?

Developing New Ways of Relating to Others

If the relationships that exist among pupils are of great importance to them (remember responses indicating that the best thing about school is "being with peers," "seeing everyone I know," etc.) then this constitutes a problem that is worth our attention. Adolescents, as they emerge from a less mature preoccupation with themselves, develop strong interests in one another. Through most of the elementary school years children are interested primarily in themselves, and in the teacher as a figure of authority. By the time they have entered secondary schools these interests have changed. They have emerged from within themselves, and are interested in others—provided that these others appear to have some characteristics, beliefs, and problems in common with them. The teacher, particularly the teacher as an authority figure, becomes much less important.

At the same time, it is likely that some of the adolescents' emphasis on peer group relationships is really another way of expressing concerns about themselves as individuals. They may be using their peers to develop concepts of themselves. In the school this emphasis on the group needs to be turned back to concern with individual motivation, individual responsibility, and individual action. After all, students must learn to function as independent individuals. They do not learn as a group. They may participate in or with groups, but they learn individually.

This is a fact that some teachers ignore. And ignoring this groping toward independence, teachers sometimes expect that students will continue to respect the teacher's position of authority, no matter what kind of behavior is manifested by the teacher. Teachers continue to expect to be the central figure in the lives of their pupils. But this just is not so. It is important for teachers to react to this change in their pupils' attitudes toward adult authority to the extent that they (the teachers) modify their behavior in terms of this changed attitude.

Parents who demand and expect the same submissive responses from their children as adolescents as they demanded and expected of them as younger children are frequently doomed to great disappointment. And the teacher who stands before a class and expects undivided attention without making a special attempt to earn this focus is unrealistic. This is not to suggest that the curriculum and organization of the secondary schools be turned over to adolescents. This is not to suggest that secondary schools become social clubs, or that pupils be permitted to annoy or ignore teachers (or one another), or that they do not need to be attentive in the classroom. But we must admit that one of the problems we face in working with adolescents is to develop an understanding of adolescents' attitudes toward one another and toward teachers. It is necessary, too, that adolescents develop a better understanding of adults, adult goals, the goals of the school, and of the opportunities that are presented to them.

Using this developing understanding—we of them and they of us—are there ways we can channel the adolescents' sense of community with one another into a means of supporting and augmenting the educational goals of the school? Students must begin to relate not only to one another and the school but to the rest of the world. Yet the curriculum tends to ignore these relationships. For example, schools too frequently fail to compare the relationships among the present new African nations' struggles for independence with our American struggle for independence, and with the adolescent's own struggle for independence. This kind of curricular approach might make the notion of independence and the struggles it involves more relevant to secondary school students. And this approach might also make the teaching-learning situation more effective.

Can teacher roles be modified to utilize the strong peer-orientation of adolescents? Small-group and seminar style classes permit students to interact more freely than formal classroom situations. "Team learning" experiments seem to suggest that students can sometimes learn at least as effectively from one another as from a teacher. Can the learning experiences be modified in other ways to capitalize on a pupil's interest in "the friends I have"?

Approximately twenty percent of the pupils interviewed cite "relationships with other pupils" as the "best thing" about school; no other single response was offered by such a large number. Teachers and adults other than teachers did not identify pupil need to establish peer-group relationships as a school problem. A few teachers indicated an awareness of the importance of peer-group relationships among adolescents, but they did not appear to feel that the school ought to become involved except through its program of extra-class activities. Adults, in response to the item, "What's the best thing about school today?" gave answers such as "more extensive and intensive education," "high standards of scholarship," "the expanded education, especially the advanced classes for exceptional students, so they are not held back with the average or below average student," and "they prepare students for college."

Adults tended to suggest that adolescents do not respect adults, although this response was given more frequently by adults other than teachers than by teachers. While some adults offered the notion that adult societal pressures can sometimes force young people to establish their own societies, seldom did adults suggest that the nature of adolescent society might constitute a serious school problem.

Peer orientation can be a useful tool for schools. The feeling that one adolescent has for a friend can be related to similar feelings expressed in literature or art. The strong peer orientation of adolescents can be related directly to the body of content the school is attempting to convey.

Although the school tends to relegate the social organization of its students to a relatively low priority status, there is evidence available that the adolescent invents, or at least evolves, his own life-style. That is, he invents his own value systems, his own ways of behaving, his own customs. And it is likely that he develops his own value and behavior systems because he is not admitted to the dominant life-style of society. Or perhaps he sees contradictions and dishonesty in the dominant adult life-style, and in his youthful idealism strives to develop what he perceives as something better.

It may be that as adults we need to examine the directions of the adolescent's rejection of existing behavior patterns and value systems with the aim of trying to understand them and to evaluate their worth. In terms of the adolescent's own perceptions, at least, he is not admitted to the dominant life-style of society. He then lives by his own inventions, even though he knows or at least suspects that his existence is artificial and his inventions transitory. Eventually most adolescents will come to terms with the dominant life-style, joining and accepting adults instead of rebelling against them, because they have no other choice. In turn, these adolescents will be accepted by the adult society and welcomed into it.

The more alienated adolescent, however, feels that his artificial life-style is permanent, not transitory. He feels that he will never really be accepted into the dominant life-style, and if he gives up his invented artificial values and behavior there will be nothing left. So he continues to rebel.

But we are not specifically concerned here with alienated youth who require special, out-of-school help. We are concerned with all adolescents. We need to find the means to help them to find new ways of relating to others. Through the school we must find ways to provide situations that can help adolescents to make the transition between the world they have felt the need to create for themselves and the world most of them must face eventually.

Teacher-Student Relationships

Adolescents tend to relate to teachers not only as disseminators of information but also as persons. Adolescents are likely to be affected by the personality of their teachers as much as by their teachers' knowledge and instructional skill. Young people generally realize this importance of teachers in their lives, and it is necessary that teachers be aware of this significant role they play.

Most of the pupil responses to questions about teachers were either neutral or positive. However, a number of pupils indicated that some of their teachers had been "unfair in grading," or "did not trust me." Only a few seemed antagonistic toward teachers, including the young wag who said, "The school building is old—and so are the teachers!"

Such remarks as these are rare. Adolescents are much concerned about being respected by their teachers. Pupils' opinions of themselves are strongly influenced by what they think their teachers think of them. And at the same time they are likely to attribute to their teachers the opinions they hold of themselves. It follows, then, that one aspect of the problem of adolescents relating to teachers involves the need for teachers to understand the feelings of their pupils, and for their pupils to develop an understanding of their teachers' attitudes toward them. With the pressure to "cover the material" facing classroom teachers and pupils, and with the pressure of large classes, little time is left for the development of an accurate understanding of relationships between them. Yet the ways in which adolescents perceive their teachers are likely to affect the quality of learning that takes place.

Adolescents feel a need for status. They need to feel important, to be recognized by adults. Teachers need to find ways to provide genuine status-producing experiences for pupils. In response to the question, "What do you think adults think about teen-agers?" a 13-year-old junior high school girl said, "that we don't have a sense of responsibility." A 17-year-old boy said, "I think they think in general that most teen-agers are the same." A 15-year-old girl said, "They think we're just a big group of good-for-nothings," and when asked how she felt about this the girl said, "They judge a group of people by just a few experiences." This feeling—that adult opinions of adolescents are based on the behavior of a small but well-publicized group—was apparent in many responses. One 15-year-old boy expressed it this way: "From what I hear, most adults think we're all wild, unpredictable delinquents. I think it's the fault of the kids who are delinquents in a sense. These are the ones every adult hears most about and they get the impression we're all like them."

The feelings expressed in these responses too frequently are reinforced in the classroom. Most of us know of classroom situations in which teachers, insensitive to the adolescents' need for status and respect, place their pupils in embarrassing situations. When, for example, a pupil obviously cannot offer an answer to a teacher's question, and the teacher persists to the point of humiliating the pupil before the class, the teacher risks not only embarrassing the luckless pupil but needlessly antagonizing other members of the class.

The conventional approach to students in the classroom often does not include genuine respect for the adolescent as an individual. As a result the adolescent simply "turns off" what is being presented to him, or he rejects many concepts that are being presented to him.

The Teaching-Learning Situation

In our culture only the school (in addition to the family) can provide a frequent, systematized contact between adolescents and adult men and women (teachers). Churches, and sometimes the family itself, provide occasional adolescent-adult contacts. The daily, inevitable relationships that the school provides between young people and adults places a great responsibility on the school to make maximum use of these relationships to help pupils to grow into successful adults. The pupil-teacher confrontation, involving an adolescent and an understanding, skilled teacher, can be a significant factor in the pupil's transition from childhood to adulthood.

At the root of many adolescent, school-related problems is a lack of motivation to learn. Educators have grappled with this problem of motivation for thousands of years. It does not appear that the problem of lack of pupil motivation as it relates to the teaching-learning situation has been solved. We know, for example, that children from families where education is prized tend to be more highly motivated in school than children from families which put little premium on education. This is often true, but not always. We know that some teachers appear to be more successful in stimulating pupils to want to learn than other teachers.

Relatively few students indicated on their questionnaires that anything involving the learning process was the "best thing" about school. This might be interpreted to point out that there is little excitement in the classroom—that students perceive few intrinsic rewards.

This is not to say that there are no rewards in the learning process itself, or that learning cannot be exciting. Learning can become a major goal of adolescents themselves if it is presented in ways that are stimulating and pertinent. When learning seems relevant to what is going on in the students' own lives outside of school, it can hold for them a sense of importance—of immediacy—of excitement.

For example, crucial issues such as the civil rights struggle and the philosophical debates about individual responsibility as it relates to Viet Nam and the draft bombard the adolescent through newspapers, magazines, television, and radio. Yet, these crucial issues frequently do not become a part of the curriculum. These are current, major concerns in our nation, but the pressure of "covering" the text materials or the course outlines makes it difficult for these vital issues to penetrate the walls of many of our secondary school classrooms.

Realizing the importance of motivation, teachers have been experimenting with different stimuli. Greater care is now taken to introduce new ideas and new topics in terms of capturing the interest of pupils. Work with smaller groups, and attempts to individualize instruction have been adopted to help motivate pupils to learn and to provide a more effective environment for learning. More colorful text materials, new multi-media teaching aids, and fresh approaches to curriculum content and to methodology are being employed. These and numerous other ideas have been instituted with varying degrees of success.

It still seems that the basic approach to the motivation of adolescents in school unfortunately involves the use of fear. The Damoclean sword of impending failure continues to dangle over adolescent heads in classrooms across the nation. Failure, the ultimate weapon, engenders fear of not getting into college, not graduating from high school, not having the tools to compete in our highly competitive society, not being successful. Fear, as a tool for motivating adolescents, is a negative force. It contradicts the purpose of encouraging pupils to want to continue to learn during the rest of their lives. With fear the principal motivating force during the school years, it is less likely that after adolescence, when the threat no longer exists, young people will be as interested in wanting to continue to learn on their own. Is it possible for schools to develop higher motivation by other means? By helping pupils to utilize whatever talents they may have, by helping them to develop richer, albeit realistic, life goals, by helping them to develop feelings about themselves as valuable, valued humans?

Even if the problem of motivation were solved, the problem of teachers communicating with adolescents would remain. For teachers to teach effectively, classroom communication must involve the giving and accepting of meaning. The process of classroom communication involves the sender (usually the teacher), the receiver (usually the pupil), the message (an item of curriculum content), and the means (the methodology employed by the teacher). The problem of communicating with adolescents in the classroom entails the establishing of a relationship that permits the receiver (the pupil) to accept the sender to the extent that the pupil allows the message to get through. Our schools cannot ignore the importance of this relationship. It does not necessarily "happen." Frequently this relationship requires careful cultivation. Not only must the teacher understand the "message" and the means of conveying it—he must understand, too, the nature of the adolescent receiver.

The adolescent, as he is involved in the communication process with his teacher, brings to the process his own disposition, experiences, prejudices, fears, frustrations, expectations, interpretations, and motivation. The "message" is important, of course. But schools must attend also to the matter of establishing a communication "bond" between teacher and adolescent if the message is to get through.

The lack of communication between generations appears more startling now than in previous generations. This is so in spite of improved technology that places at our command the easiest physical means of communication ever to have existed in history. Because the teaching-learning situation requires meaningful interaction between generations, a lack of the ability of teachers and students to communicate presents a serious problem.

And even when the "message" gets through, when a harmonious and effective arrangement has been established between a skillful, understanding "sender" and a highly motivated "receiver" the message itself must be significant. The adolescent needs to attach sufficient import to what he has learned to encourage him to make what has been learned a part of himself. There is the danger that the school will settle for adolescents remembering and comprehending information temporarily, without requiring them to internalize and utilize what has been learned.

That the teacher has been labeled the "sender" and the student the "receiver" does not mean that the recommended instructional methodology is the teacher lecture. Without belaboring the point, it must be indicated that the task of the teacher is to help the student to learn. If it facilitates learning (and there is evidence available that it sometimes does) these roles can be reversed. That is, the learner can become the "sender" and the teacher the "receiver."

In other teaching-learning situations the teacher's role as a "sender" is virtually eliminated. The student is encouraged to assume major responsibility for initiating and implementing the learning situation. Basically, however, the teacher must teach. Hopefully he will utilize many techniques and a wide variety of curriculum materials. And the student must learn; hopefully he will develop learning styles that are effective for him. The assigned responsibility of the teacher, however he carries out that responsibility, is as "sender." The expectancies of society and the school require that the student become the "receiver." Yet another problem, then, is the challenge to the schools to help adolescents learn things in ways that will literally produce changes in their behavior.

It is difficult to select one aspect of any of the problems that have been identified and label it as most important, but it is not likely that any is more important than the problem of what the schools must teach and how they must teach. It is evident that change has become an important element in our society. As our society becomes increasingly complex and the rate of change is accelerated, it is important that our schools attend to the significant task of helping adolescents to learn to live in a dynamic society. What can our schools do about this problem of helping adolescents to understand change, to live with it, and to effect it?

Using Ralph Linton's categorization of culture into "universals," "specialties," and "alternatives" (there can be other approaches to this problem, of course), are there ways that the school can prepare the adolescent for cultural and societal change?

To expand this notion briefly, it might be well to pause to define some terms. Universals are those ideas and values and customs that, within a given culture, are universally accepted. In this category we might include our language, our attitudes toward children, the kinds of food we eat, and our political ideals. Specialties, as the term is used here, are usually confined to certain groups within society, although acceptance of the existence of the specialty is general throughout the culture. For example, the practice of medicine itself is a specialty, confined to a limited group, but in another sense the way medicine is practiced is generally accepted, a universal. The ways that people earn their livings, then, fall into the category that has been labeled "specialties." Another example of a specialty might be the existence of private, college preparatory schools. Such schools are generally accepted, but the ideals and goals of such schools apply to a limited group.

It is the category of alternatives that presents the greatest problem to our secondary schools. Alternatives constitute the cutting edge of culture. The alternatives consist of new or revived ideas, customs, and values that are not generally accepted and that are not practiced or accepted by enough people to be labeled specialties. Alternatives must necessarily be in conflict with specialties and universals—if they were not in conflict, then they would actually be universals or specialties. An example of an alternative is electronic music. As an art form, electronic music is a relatively new idea. It most certainly is in conflict with widely accepted musical forms. Eventually, as is the case with all alternatives, it will become the purview of a limited group (which will make it a specialty) or it will be accepted and played by almost everyone (which will make it a universal), or it will drop out of sight because it has been universally rejected. Other ideas that are, or recently have been, alternatives are the use of atomic power, socialized medicine, medical care for the aged, and federal aid to education.

In 1963 medical care for the aged and extensive federal aid to education were alternatives. Yet in our dynamic, changing society many new ideas and customs and values are continually being introduced. This fluidity tends to decrease the dimensions of the category labeled universals, and as the alternatives challenge the universals, the conflicts that are created result in a condition of change; there are fewer values and ideas and customs that we can be certain will persist.

The school is uniquely suited to the task of affecting the universals, the specialties, and the alternatives of our culture. Our educational system, reaching most of our population through age sixteen, and much of it beyond, is best equipped to pass a body of universals on to the next generation. In our educational systems rests the hope of maintaining, examining, and developing ideas and values and customs that are common to all of us. This task the school has performed reasonably well.

But in this highly dynamic society of ours can we afford to pass our body of universals on to the next generation without first examining them carefully and continuously? Can we teach what we are teaching merely because we have taught it before, even though we have been reasonably successful teaching what we teach? Must we not, when we participate in the development of the universals in the secondary school curriculum, evaluate our customs, our values, and our ideas, selecting those that best meet the needs of our society and the adolescents in our schools?

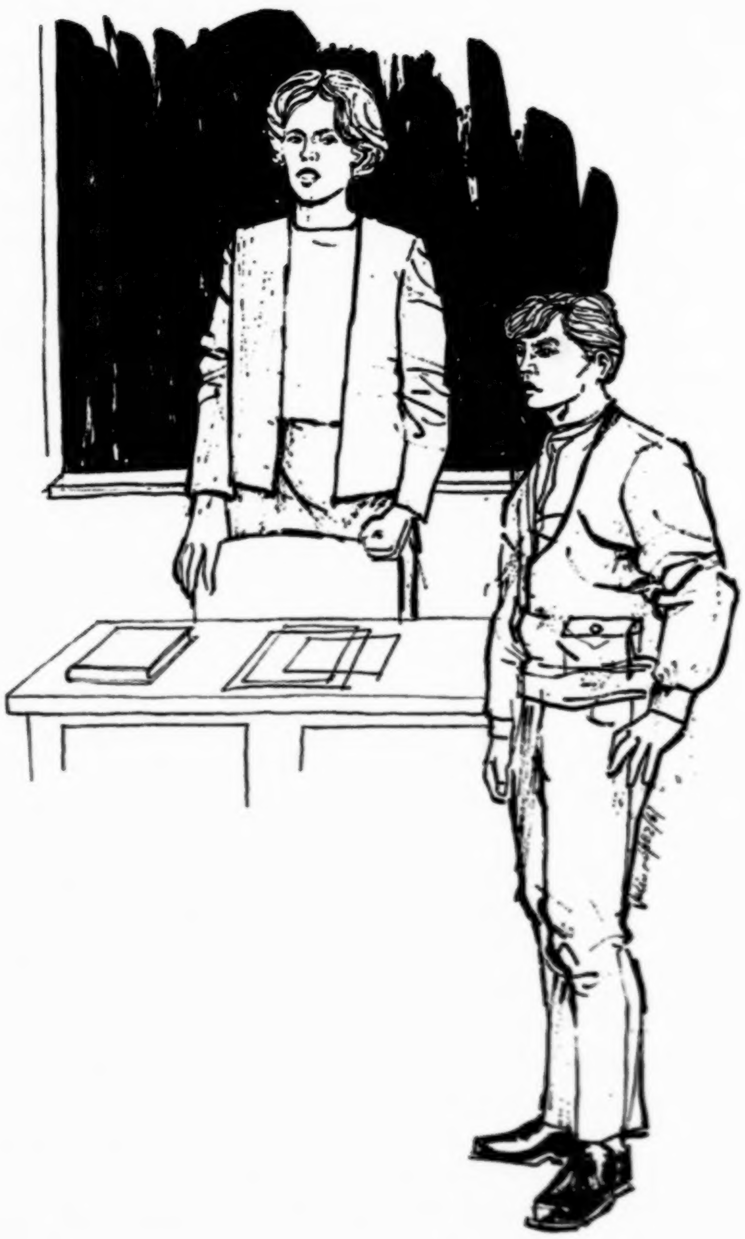
Schools also are able to provide adolescents with the specialties of our culture. In fact, examination of the secondary school curriculum reveals a strong trend toward the strengthening of the specialties. This, too, creates a problem for adolescents who are often asked, by age fourteen, to commit themselves to a particular specialty, to decide on a life goal.

But it is in the area of our cultural alternatives that our schools hold the greatest promise—and tend to provide the greatest disappointment. In our technological society changes are taking place with alarming rapidity. Alarming, perhaps, because we have had relatively little school experience in the handling of alternatives. If the schools are to affect our society, the schools must come to grips with the alternatives in our culture. It is not enough to transmit our universals to the next generation. It is not enough to provide opportunities for exploration of our cultural specialties.

Our schools need to consider alternatives. Adolescents need to learn about and to think about new ideas. More than that, pupils need to be encouraged *to create* new ideas. Because it is true that alternatives must conflict with our universals, our secondary schools need to be places in which adolescents have an opportunity to work through these conflicts. The pupil needs to learn to make wise choices. He needs to learn how to select wisely those alternatives that will eventually become a part of our body of universals.

In our society our educational system is the institution best suited to encourage the consideration of alternatives. And because alternatives constitute the moving, changing aspects of our culture, it is the school's obligation to teach about them. The problem is to develop ways that the schools can help adolescents to study alternatives, and thereby to become citizens who can exert a powerful and beneficial impact upon our society.

These are only a few of the problems that relate to the adolescent in school. Many others will be encountered in the various "Perspectives" offered on subsequent pages. But even these few problems (the adolescent learning to understand himself, developing new ways of relating to others, relating to teachers, and the problem of the teaching-learning situation) point up differences between problems of adolescence that cry out for solution and the educational programs that presently predominate in our public schools. Is it possible that there are other directions worth taking? Is it possible that changes can be made in our schools that will help to solve some of these problems of adolescence? Is it time to effect these changes?



PART TWO

Youth Education: Perspectives

2

Youth Education: A Social-Philosophical Perspective

RAYMOND H. MUESSIG

"IT IS when we try to grapple with another man's intimate need that we perceive how incomprehensible, wavering, and misty are the beings that share with us the sight of the stars and the warmth of the sun,"[1] observed Joseph Conrad in *Lord Jim*. Probably no one of us ever "really" and "completely" *understands* his fellows. While the Socratic admonition to "know thyself" is often quoted and endorsed, it seems just as true that a person cannot fathom even his own identity. No matter how desirous one may be to penetrate the essence of his neighbors and himself, it appears that he must function on the basis of partial information and insight.

His self-appointed task of learning more about others is compounded and complicated further if he is deprived of continuous, long-term, face-to-face contact with people he wants to know better. And he is almost overwhelmed if he tries to strengthen and sharpen his perceptions of some large group of individuals placed under an arbitrary heading such as "parents," "taxpayers," "Democrats," "conservatives," "Oregonians," "automobile drivers," "redheads," *ad infinitum*.

The term "adolescence" appears to muddy the waters of human understanding rather than to distill or purify them. It is difficult, if not impossible, to combine under the amorphous label "adolescence" a myriad of variegated *individuals* with different ages, developmental levels, sizes, shapes, experiential backgrounds, needs, talents, abilities, skills, aspirations, attitudes, appreciations, beliefs, values, and commitments. Just the fact that the people gathered in the "adolescence" basket are boys *and* girls, young men *and* young women, can be a significant and profound variable. Studies such as the one conducted by Douvan and Adelson have underlined the importance of sex differences.[2] Moreover, regional factors must be considered. It is unsound and imprudent to talk in one breath about "adolescents" like one youth living on a ranch in Montana and another dwelling in a New York urban renewal housing complex. In short, America's youth when described as "adolescents" must be arranged into a heterogeneous montage where sharp, single snapshots of this individual and that one tend to become fragmented or blurred.

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[1] Joseph Conrad. *Lord Jim*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958. p. 129. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

A discussion of the education of youth from a social philosophical perspective is complicated further by the fact that "the adolescent now occupies a peculiarly intense place in the American consciousness."[3] Many things are being said and written about our youth these days with a great deal of fervor and involvement. Cool, aloof, reflective analyses are hard to find and to execute.

The media of mass communication have too often treated adolescents in a bifurcated manner. Youth are either a lost cause, or the hope of tomorrow; a great American tragedy, or a comic relief; the antithesis of democratic behavior, or the epitome of libertarianism, fraternalism, and egalitarianism; cynical and materialistic, or idealistic and altruistic; grossly insensitive, or unusually empathic; hyperactive or apathetic; group conformists, or the embodiment of the spirit of Huckleberry Finn. As with numerous phenomena in life, the "*true* characterization" of our youth doubtless ranges between opposite extremes, with more cases being found in the middle or shade-of-gray area and with some cases mixing polar positions in a unique way.

There is at least one more problem inherent in dealing with the material that falls within the purview of this chapter. It is not easy to write about an unstructured subject such as "adolescence," especially with its attendant emotional overtones. The difficulty of the undertaking is increased when one tries to view adolescence through a democratic social philosophical lens with its complex and subtle curves. It is not that one lacks previously published works on which he can draw. In fact, there is a plethora of literature available on the democratic ideology, and on its relationship to education in general and the education of youth in particular.[4] Rather, it is that one does not know where to begin or where to end and how to compress some very global ideas into the confines of a single chapter.

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[2] Elizabeth Douvan and Joseph Adelson. *The Adolescent Experience*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[4] For example: Max Ascoli. *The Power of Freedom*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, Inc., 1949; Ernest E. Bayles. *Democratic Educational Theory*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1960; Carl L. Becker. *Modern Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941; John L. Childs. *Education and Morals*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1950; George S. Counts. *Education and American Civilization*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952; Ralph Henry Gabriel. *The Course of American Democratic Thought*.

The Democratic Viewpoint

A suitable starting point might be to review just a few attempts to define and enlarge upon elements of the democratic frame of reference. Let us consult, then, excerpts taken from the writings of John Dewey, a philosopher; R. M. MacIver, a political scientist and sociologist; and Bronislaw Malinowski, an anthropologist.

> . . . The keynote of democracy as a way of life may be expressed, it seems to me, as the necessity for the participation of every mature human being in formation of the values that regulate the living of men together: which is necessary from the standpoint of both the general social welfare and the full development of human beings as individuals.[2]

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> The foundation of democracy is faith in the capacities of human nature; faith in human intelligence and in the power of pooled and cooperative experience. It is not belief that these things are complete but that, if given a show, they will grow and be able to generate progressively the knowledge and wisdom needed to guide collective action. . . .[3]

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> Belief in equality is an element of the democratic credo. It is not, however, belief in equality of natural endowments. Those who proclaimed the idea of equality did not suppose they were enunciating a psychological doctrine, but a legal and political one. All individuals are entitled to equality of treatment by law and in its administration. Each one is affected equally in quality if not in quantity by the institutions under which he lives and has an equal right to express his judgment, although the weight of his judgment may not be equal in amount

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New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1956; Sidney Hook. *Education for Modern Man: A New Perspective*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1963; Dorothy Lee. *Freedom and Culture*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959; Max Lerner. *America as a Civilization*. New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1957; Robert E. Mason. *Educational Ideals in American Society*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1960; Herbert J. Muller. *Issues of Freedom*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1960; Franklin Patterson. *High Schools for a Free Society*. Glencoe, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1960; The President's Commission on National Goals. *Goals for Americans*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960; T. V. Smith and Eduard C. Lindeman. *The Democratic Way of Life*. New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1951; W. T. Stace. *The Destiny of Western Man*. New York: Reynal & Company, Inc., 1942; *Education and the Idea of Mankind*. Robert Ulich, editor. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964; Morton White. *Social Thought in America*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1957.

[2] John Dewey. *Problems of Men*. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1946. p. 58.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

when it enters into the pooled result to that of others. In short, each one is equally an individual and entitled to equal opportunity of development of his own capacities, be they large or small in range. Moreover, each has needs of his own, as significant to him as those of others are to them. . . .[7]

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. . . A Democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience. The extension in space of the number of individuals who participate in an interest so that each has to refer his own action to that of others, and to consider the action of others to give point and direction to his own, is equivalent to the breaking down of those barriers of class, race, and national territory which kept men from perceiving the full import of their activity. These more numerous and more varied points of contact denote a greater diversity of stimuli to which an individual has to respond; they consequently put a premium on variation in his action. They secure a liberation of powers which remain suppressed as long as the incitations to action are partial, as they must be in a group which in its exclusiveness shuts out many interests.[8]

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. . . A society based on custom will utilise individual variations only up to a limit of conformity with usage; uniformity is the chief ideal within each class. A progressive society counts individual variations as precious since it finds in them the means of its own growth. Hence a democratic society must, in consistency with its ideal, allow for intellectual freedom and the play of diverse gifts and interests in its educational measures.[9]

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The first article of the democratic creed is the belief in humanity. Democracy puts its trust in the people. It holds that they should have the final right to determine their own affairs. It holds that they should be free to learn all the facts, to hear all views, and to decide accordingly. It holds that they should be provided with all the equipment and all the means necessary for the enjoyment of freedom. It holds that where the people have this right and these opportunities they will live a far richer and fuller life than when they are subject to the irresponsible will of any overlords. Thus the community of men can reveal its character and its potentialities, whereas under the authoritarian system the community is forever stunted and suppressed by the brutal power-intoxicated will of government.

This democratic trust in humanity is a faith in the capacities of the human being, as he is given the opportunity and the equipment to realize himself. It is a belief in the worth of the human personality. It finds here the key to all values. Unless the human person becomes a value for himself, unless he is invested with this dignity and this worth, unless even our ideas about God are intimately dependent on the sense of man's kinship with the divine, then all our search for values becomes vain or foolish. For man the only value that can have finality is the good life for man, the living and the enjoying of the good life—in the largest sense, if you will, the pursuit of happiness. And the only way to that good life is the way of free experience, as men learn to relate themselves to one another and to the universal nature that embraces them. . . ."[illegible]

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[8] John Dewey. *Democracy and Education.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961. p. 87.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 305.

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[Democracy] can be defined as a cultural system devised so as to allow the fullest opportunities to the individual and to the group to determine its purposes, to organize and implement them, and to carry out the activities upon which they are intent. A modern democracy has also the duty to guarantee to its members an equitable distribution of rewards, the full enjoyment of recreation, the privileges of knowledge and of the arts, and of all that constitutes the spiritual prerogatives of contemporary man. . . ."[illegible]

Obviously, the preceding passages are inadequate as a solid theoretical foundation upon which to construct the remainder of this paper. Yet they should serve as a partial refresher orientation to the democratic position and should trigger many associated ideals and thoughts which the reader has stored in his "memory bank." At this stage, it is desirable, but not possible with length limitations, to designate and delineate a series of specific democratic tenets and subgroups of their respective behavioral implications. However, certain of the broad precepts woven into the fabric of our social philosophy should be apparent as the balance of the manuscript unfolds.

In the space left to him, the author has decided to look at a few current practices in the education of youth in our secondary schools and their relationship to, or lack of consonance with, components of the democratic faith. In a number of junior and senior high schools known to him, the writer believes he sees some discrepancies or inconsistencies that exist between what we educators believe, or say we believe, and what we are doing.

The Dignity and Worth of the Individual Human Personality

As a first example of what appears to be an incongruity, one might cite our persistent claim to be deeply committed to the prime tenet of democracy: the respect for the dignity and worth of the individual human

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[illegible] R. M. MacIver. *The Ramparts We Guard.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950. pp. 113-14.

[illegible] Bronislaw Malinowski. *Freedom and Civilization.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1960. p. 221. © 1944, by Anna Valetta Malinowska.

personality. Over the years on countless occasions, we have stated that each person in our society is an end in and of himself. His fundamental freedoms and rights—balanced by only those duties and responsibilities needed to ensure the preservation of his integrity and that of others—are protected; he cannot be used and abused by a limited, powerful group of others to achieve their purposes. He is to be cherished for his uniqueness. He is beyond any form of material assessment.

He is possessed of distinct, exciting capabilities for self-realization. He represents a potentially creative source for improving and enriching the lives of his fellows by participating in voluntary, mutually satisfying arrangements through open systems of communication and interaction. He may work for unity and consensus without losing his diversity. He is his own man; his privacy is not to be invaded, nor his earned possessions arbitrarily usurped. He is able to become and to do many things because of his amazing plasticity, flexibility, and educability.

He is deserving of the opportunity to seek, discover, and develop his best self as he perceives that self in a life he finds rewarding and worth living. He can pursue his personal "purpose of purposes" through religious and/or other fulfilling activities. He is a one-of-a-kind creation—baffling, inscrutable, magnificent. He walks on and off the human scene in a relatively short period of time, but his world is different somehow, someway because he had a role in the drama. Though he seems to be the same in certain respects, he is a bit different each day, week, year, and decade. He is democratic man.

Using ideas contained in the previous paragraph as criteria against which to examine practices in some of our junior and senior high schools, what might we find?

Respect for the Dignity and Worth of Students. One thing we could discover is that for a significant number of our students a feeling of dignity and worth in a school milieu is an unknown or rare experience. Standing and esteem have been withheld from, set aside until they are "earned" by, or dispensed begrudgingly and parsimoniously to youth who are from low income situations; who are "culturally deprived"; who are members of identifiable minority groups; who are "slow learners"; who are not "properly motivated"; who have emotional or "adjustment" problems; or who are "different" in other ways. We seem to have all sorts of ready reasons, rationalizations, or excuses for denying or depriving given youth of the benefits of full, unqualified, first-class citizenship in our classrooms.

Or, we may be like a harassed, exhausted teacher who told the author one afternoon just after her last class for the day had left the room, "I think I respect kids in the *abstract*. It's just in a *concrete* setting that I can't seem to accept and like them!" Before we worry about shadings and nuances in democratic education, then, it seems that many of us should concentrate first on internalizing, exemplifying, and making manifest to all youth a steady, continuous devotion to human dignity and worth.

Approach to Individual Differences of Students. Closely allied to the condition just mentioned is our approach to individual differences in general and in our schools in particular. It is interesting—albeit hard to understand and discouraging—to remember what a hodgepodge we Americans are, how easy it is for us to call ourselves a "pluralistic society," and yet how intolerant we are of diversity. Over a century ago Ralph Waldo Emerson chided us with these words:

> . . . I suffer whenever I see that common sight of a parent or senior imposing his opinion and way of thinking and being on a young soul to which they are totally unfit. Cannot we let people be themselves, and enjoy life in their own way? You are trying to make that man another you. One's enough.
>
> Or we sacrifice the genius of the pupil, the unknown possibilities of his nature, to a neat and safe uniformity, as the Turks whitewash the costly mosaics of ancient art which the Greeks left on their temple walls. . . .[illegible]

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> . . . Our modes of Education aim to expedite, to save labor; to do for masses what cannot be done for masses, what must be done reverently, one by one: say rather, the whole world is needed for the tuition of each pupil. . . .[illegible]

In an address to the Department of Superintendence in 1892, Charles W. Eliot, remembered as the President of Harvard and as the chairman of the now famous Committee of Ten, echoed and greatly amplified Emerson's scolding:

> . . . Uniformity is the curse of American schools. That any school or college has a uniform product should be regarded as a demonstration of inferiority—of incapacity to meet the legitimate demands of a social order whose fundamental principle is that every career should be opened to talent. Selection of studies for the individual, instruction addressed to the individual, irregular promotion, grading by natural capacity and rapidity of attainment, and diversity of product as regards age and acquisitions must come to characterize the American public school, if it is to answer the purposes of a democratic society.[illegible]

During our own time Paul P. Mok, a school psychologist, feels that

[illegible] Ralph Waldo Emerson. "Education." In: *Ralph Waldo Emerson: Selected Prose and Poetry.* Reginald L. Cook, editor. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1960. p. 213.

[illegible] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

[illegible] Charles W. Eliot. "Shortening and Enriching the Grammar School Course." In: *Charles W. Eliot and Popular Education.* Edward A. Krug, editor. New York: Teachers College Press, 1961. pp. 55-56. © 1961. Teachers College, Columbia University. Used by permission.

we Americans still deserve to be rebuked for our fundamental insensitivity to and mishandling of individual differences. He writes:

> Conventionally, we tend to think of pupil grouping in terms of the school's formal organization. Thus we tend to place our pupils in groups in terms of convenience, that is, in terms of the total school schedule, the state curriculum guide, and the pupil's chronological age. The human factor is subjugated to the almighty structure as so often happens in industrial, government or military organization. . . ."[illegible]
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> . . . We have depersonalized our schools over the years by treating our teachers and pupils as interchangeable parts in a big machine. We have contented ourselves with an assembly line educational process. We are mass producing a quantity of educational products jerrymandered together and substandard in quality. . . ."[illegible]

And, even more recently, Edgar Z. Friedenberg, a sociologist, has had this to say with reference to the issue of preserving the vital humanness of each student:

> . . . The school is not there to help John find himself or be himself; its purpose is to help youngsters "make something *out* of themselves." Same useful thing.
>
> In this respect, the school is still the instrument of the Protestant ethic, which judged a man by his empirical effectiveness in hewing out a place in the world and controlling his environment—clearly an immensely profitable, if seldom quite satisfactory, undertaking. To carry through an industrial revolution, clear continents, and enlighten or exterminate the indigenous savages you had to use yourself as a thing. But the things have been quietly catching up. They are now in a position to demonstrate, conclusively, that things make better things than people do. Most of us will, I am sure, agree that here in America things have never looked brighter. It's the people who give cause for concern."
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> "Subjective" people have very little use for the school, and vice versa. Particularly in adolescence, they are trying to realize and clarify their identity; the school, acting as a mobility ladder, assumes instead the function of inducing them to change or alter it. They want to discover who they are; the school wants to help them "make something out of themselves." They want to know where they are; the school wants to help them get somewhere. They want to learn how to live with themselves; the school wants to teach them how to get along with others. They want to learn how to tell what is right for them; the school wants

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[illegible] Paul P. Mok. *A View From Within: American Education at the Crossroads of Individualism.* New York: Carlton Press, Inc., 1962. p. 53.

[illegible] *Ibid.*, p. [illegible].

[illegible] Edgar Z. Friedenberg. *Coming of Age in America.* New York: Random House, Inc., 1965. pp. [illegible].

to teach them to give the responses that will earn them rewards in the classroom and in social situations.[28]

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. . . [Adolescence] is a stage of life in which every human being must come to terms with his own being, his own divergence, and the meaning of his relationship to other individuals. The meanest and most cringing sycophant, the blandest and slyest bureaucrat, were closer to being human in adolescence than they were ever to become again. Self-definition is the prime developmental task of adolescence; indeed, it is the process of adolescence itself. . . .[29]

In his wonderfully profound, pointed book *The Prophet*, Kahlil Gibran observes that "If he is indeed wise [the teacher] does not bid you enter the house of his wisdom, but rather leads you to the threshold of your own mind." [30] Max Lerner has written that "Given the ills and vulnerabilities of a mass society, the first great task of education is to develop a sense of the core of identity in oneself and of the authentic in whatever one's life touches." [31] On many sides and from a multitude of sources we have been and are urged to exalt and nourish individual differences in our youth. We do not lack a vision of what we *should* do. We have ideas about what we *can* do. We know that we will not reach broad, unlimited, pluralistic ends with narrow, limited, monistic means.

We are aware every day that our current resources—including time, manpower, materials, facilities, and equipment—are grossly inadequate for the task. We realize that the cognitive and affective preparation of thousands of teachers, counselors, school psychologists and psychometrists, principals, supervisors, curriculum directors, and superintendents leaves much to be desired and has to be strengthened substantially. We recognize that far too many of our institutions of higher education are guilty of employing a number of the same bland, homogenizing, mass production procedures they condemn in our lower schools and are reducing the idiosyncratic qualities of future teachers and others who will assume important roles as parents, voters, leaders, and so on.

Yes, we can think of innumerable barriers to the creation of uniquely tailored learning environments for youth which will free their individuality, aid them to find out much more about themselves, and stimulate them to enhance their chances for self-fulfillment and to contribute to a richer selfhood for others. But many of these obstacles can be surmounted, as long as we *begin* somewhere, perhaps anywhere. We might start, for example, with reduced teaching loads, though this would be admittedly costly. We could decrease pupil-teacher ratios, the number of teacher preparations per day, the cases where teachers are assigned out of their areas of special competence, etc.

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[28] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 218.

[30] Kahlil Gibran. *The Prophet*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955. p. 56.

[31] Max Lerner. *Education and a Radical Humanism*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1962. p. 31.

Every student should have a continuous tutorial relationship—arranged according to his needs, capabilities, and interests—with at least one teacher each year he is in a secondary school. Before the official launching of a school year, teachers could be paid to conduct informal, relaxed, friendly, get-acquainted conferences with their advisees. During scheduled contacts throughout the regular school year, teachers could meet with individual charges (and small groups of young people with similar concerns) for reading-and-discussion sessions, research projects, community studies and undertakings, field trips, etc. Occasionally, there might also be firesides in teachers' homes and outings in scenic surroundings so students could get to know their tutors more as real, appealing persons. The spirit behind the tutorial arrangement suggested hastily here is captured quite well by this reminiscent passage set down by Max Lerner:

> . . . Someone has remarked that education is what stays in your mind after everything that you have learned has been forgotten. The things that were taught me during my school years, the lectures I listened to, what I wrote down in my notebooks, the themes I handed in, the examinations I took, have almost completely vanished. What remains, as I look back over the years, is the memory of a few teachers: how they looked and walked and talked, their stance as they faced life, the courage they showed, the sense of curiosity they awakened, their humor and grace under adversity. This is the image of a man that one gets, in the years of greatest plasticity, from an effective teacher.[illegible]

Not only should students have a closer personal relationship with some, if not all, of their teachers, but they must also have specially planned and paced programs which ensure more diverse development. We need to view equal educational opportunity as representing an *open*, rather than an identical, chance for every adolescent. Avenues can be opened for each young person to unique learning experiences which balance both breadth and depth of contact with curricular offerings, awareness of important facets of his world, and some feeling of mastery. Nongraded schools, increased "branching" in usual offerings, and additional electives built around particular students should appear frequently. In the future we may hear more about Mark, Penny, Rich, and Babs and less about "juniors" or "9-6's." Evaluation—based upon a myriad of tailor-made performance criteria—will include such things as observation, film-

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[illegible] *Ibid.*, pp. [illegible].

ing, anecdotal records, interviews, conferences, and descriptive profiles and statements. In time we should see the futility of trying to portray complex, diverse human behavior in terms of letters and number grades, percentiles, ranks, etc. People cannot be sorted like mail or graded like eggs!

Privacy. Also wedded to the concept of the dignity and worth of the individual human personality is the idea of privacy. Each person should have periods of time, thoughts, experiences, places, and possessions he can call his own. He should have moments of peace, quiet, and seclusion where he can contemplate intimate personal questions and problems and their answers or solutions without interruption or intrusion. Or occasions when he just sits and enjoys complete solitude or drinks in the beauty of a spring day or starry night. Or intervals when he has an absolute minimum of sensory stimulation so he can discern and treasure less intensive stimuli.

Adolescence can be a magnificent time to read, reflect, taste new ideas or impressions, engage in self-examination, trade notions with close companions. Many young people are mature enough to push open the frontiers of their minds in meaningful ways. A number of our youth are unburdened as yet by pressing financial responsibilities or cannot secure employment even if they need or want it, hence could have some unoccupied time. All of our students could have sacred moments in the school day, too, where they would be alone and free to meditate, relax, or rest. Even if each youngster were to have only a half hour at home and at school void of obligations, commitments, or assignments we might contribute to his well-being.

Unfortunately, many adults today have crowded almost every waking minute of their own lives with "sixty seconds' worth of distance run" and expect youth to do the same. Like gas station attendants, countless parents and teachers employ a "fill 'er up" approach. Still fettered by remnants of the Puritan ethic, they hate to see young people "just sit around without *doing something 'useful'* " for even short periods of time. Too few adults ever consider possible consequences of the pace they maintain and espouse for youth. They miss or sidestep the revelation which confronts a character in Eugene Vale's profound novel *The Thirteenth Apostle.*

> While pebbles and stones rolled and tumbled over the rim above him, [Webb] recalled two of his friends who had died of heart attacks at too young an age. He thought of the exhausted businessmen opening yet another branch office; of the executives ruling the gigantic corporations, the jet pilots flying at supersonic speeds, the teachers in overcrowded schools, who were all nearing the limits of human endurance. He thought of the workers at the assembly line, of

the secretaries, the department heads, the sales forces and shipping clerks, all trying either to meet the demands of increasing efficiency or to stem the tide of rapidly multiplying production. He thought of the heroic struggles, the breakdowns, the nervous disorders, as countless millions were forced, blindly or knowingly, voluntarily or helplessly, to obey the despotic spirit of the accelerated age that churned and swirled around the borders of the impossible.[*]

We are trying to "cover" too much in our secondary schools, to use each tiny piece of the school day for too many things that are ephemeral and unimportant in the long run or irrelevant and boring to youth during their adolescent years. We seem to feel that we are not "teaching" unless we are lecturing to captive audiences, period after period after period. It follows, of course, that our young people cannot be "learning" unless they are taking notes, reading *assigned* material, reciting, or answering test questions. We wonder why certain of our charges regard our educational edifices as "penitentiaries" when we expect youngsters to account for their activities every minute; pass from class to class at the same time, if not in unison; carry hall passes even to drinking fountains and toilets; consume lunches (as early as 10:30—hungry or not—or as late as 1:30—starved or not) in fifteen to twenty minutes after waiting in long lines; and serve sentences after school to make up for "lost time."

We are apparently afraid to leave our "inmates" alone anywhere, any time, for we patrol school bus zones, doorways, hallways, study halls, libraries, and cafeterias. On occasion, we are "generous" and give students a ten minute break in the morning and/or afternoon, but even then they are often herded into places where they can be kept under surveillance. There are few spots in schools where anyone can escape the inevitable messengers and announcements over public address systems (sometimes delivered throughout the day by administrators who are apparently frustrated disc jockeys). John Donne's "No man is an island" takes on other connotations in a number of our schools.

For schools yet to be constructed we need larger grounds, wherever possible, which will permit a more open or campus style of planning. We should have some pleasant, attractive walkways and gardens and small park areas with occasional benches. We could build comfortable, restful student lounges, informal reading and/or music listening rooms, and many carrels conducive to independent relaxation and reflection. In our current schools, we might convert some facilities, or at least loosen up our schedules to provide more free, noninstructional, unsupervised time. We could also open more of our schools in the evening so those students who have no retreat at home might enjoy school facilities in different, noninstitutional ways. Whatever we do, we must seek ways of salvaging and expanding some privacy in an increasingly crowded, intrusive world.

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[*] Eugene Vale. *The Thirteenth Apostle.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959. p. 170.

The Intelligence and Rational Capacity of Man

A second illustration of a seeming belief-practice dissonance might be mentioned. The writings and speeches of Western men are replete with comments on the importance of human intelligence and rational capacity to the creation, maintenance, and amplification of democracy. The role of education in cultivating mental powers so the individual can live a full, liberated, examined life has received a great deal of attention.

In his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, published in 1785, Thomas Jefferson wrote that "Reason and free inquiry are the only effectual agents against error." Jefferson's oft-quoted letter to James Madison, dated December 20, 1787, contains these words: "Above all things I hope the education of the common people will be attended to; convinced that on their good sense we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty." Recently, the Educational Policies Commission has produced a document that points to freedom of the mind as "the central purpose of the school."[24]

In part, this publication says:

> The rational powers of the human mind have always been basic in establishing and preserving freedom. In furthering personal and social effectiveness they are becoming more important than ever. They are central to individual dignity, human progress, and national survival.
>
> The individual with developed rational powers can share deeply in the freedoms his society offers and can contribute most to the preservation of those freedoms. At the same time, he will have the best chance of understanding and contributing to the great events of his time. And the society which best develops the rational potentials of its people, along with their intuitive and aesthetic capabilities, will have the best chance of flourishing in the future. To help every person develop those powers is therefore a profoundly important objective and one which increases in importance with the passage of time. By pursuing this objective, the school can enhance spiritual and aesthetic values and the other cardinal purposes which it has traditionally served and must continue to serve.
>
> The purpose which runs through and strengthens all other educational purposes—the common thread of education—is the development of the ability to think. This is the central purpose to which the school must be oriented if it is to accomplish either its traditional tasks or those newly accentuated by recent changes in the world. To say that it is central is not to say that it is the sole purpose or in all circumstances the most important purpose, but that it must

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[24] Educational Policies Commission. *The Central Purpose of American Education*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1961. p. 11.

be a pervasive concern in the work of the school. Many agencies contribute to achieving educational objectives, but this particular objective will not be generally attained unless the school focuses on it. In this context, therefore, the development of every student's rational powers must be recognized as centrally important.[illegible]

Along with their proverbial commitment to apple pie, motherhood, and the flag, most Americans doubtless believe that our country needs bright, informed, thoughtful citizens who can make wise choices and decisions, based on tenable evidence and tested in the light of experience. American educators have demonstrated a long, continuous interest in and dedication to the releasing of individual mental forces, to lucid cognitive processes, and to the scientific method of handling problems.

Surely every teacher has been exposed at least once to the well-known and well-worn "steps" associated with reflection in its more formal sense: the origin of the problem; the careful definition and delimitation of the problem; the formulation of one or more tentative hypotheses; the gathering of appropriate data; the testing of the hypothesis or hypotheses; the emergence of a provisional solution; the consideration of the waves of consequences emerging from the application of the conditional solution to the problem; and so on. Teachers have read and heard, too, statements such as this one dealing with the kind of conditions which should exist in the classroom if one desires to launch, facilitate, and advance reflective thinking:

> Reflection is encouraged by five conditions: first, keeping anxiety within bounds and translating it into issues to be resolved; second, noninterference and respect for the individual's privacy while he is trying to think; third, establishment of a generally nonthreatening "climate" through the habit of listening and responding with clarification, encouragement, and the objective definition of hard realities of all sorts; fourth, stimulation through challenge and confrontation by novel situations; and fifth, encouraging and utilizing suggestions and creative ideas ("contributions") which result from reflection. . . .[illegible]

Outwardly, many teachers prize the development of reflective thinking and list it as a prominent educational objective in guides and units. And, teachers may be aware of components commonly associated with rational processes and of recommendations for creating circumstances that might foster intelligent, informed, insightful approaches to problems. Inwardly, however, a number of teachers seem to be afraid or wary of the very real concerns of their students, of controversial issues, of contemporary affairs, and of unresolved situations. From their offerings and

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[illegible] *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

[illegible] Herbert A. Thelen. *Education and the Human Quest*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers. Inc., 1960. pp. 156-57 the methods they employ, one may infer that a lot of teachers prefer answers to questions, conclusions to hypotheses, knowns to unknowns, sureties to doubts, certainties to uncertainties, absolutes to relatives, pronouncements to dialogues, products to processes, predigested facts to raw data, museums to laboratories, sedatives to stimulants, and balms to tonics.

While a few of these apprehensive, cautious teachers are willing to have youth engage in limited reflection, they are anything but eager to have their students think critically about topics of a tangible, pressing, disputable nature. They prefer to direct a study of the settled past over the insistent present, the innocuous over the troublesome, the pedantic over the imprecise. Their teaching is characterized by a great deal of genteel evasion and little or no unreserved candor. They reward the acquisition of preordained information which they can test and grade with ease but not probing, searching, or fumbling behavior which is difficult to evaluate. Seldom do they give students a chance to arrive at their own explanations of phenomena, to stumble upon, frame, and analyze their own concepts and generalizations. Rarely do they stimulate youth to seek alternative routes in question framing and answering, to turn their backs on pat answers or hasty solutions in search of other possibilities. They use essentially the same methods daily and are upset by the disinterest, restlessness, and misbehavior of adolescents.

"One sometimes gets the impression," Boyd H. Bode commented 40 years ago, "that American educators will go to any lengths rather than have an opinion of their own."[27] Donald N. Michael would not only agree with Bode, but believes that this tendency will continue for a while, particularly with respect to teachers in our lower schools.

> . . . [In] general, primary and secondary school teachers for at least the next decade will continue to be recruited from backgrounds that stress lower-middle-class values of good behavior, "fitting in," political neutralism or conservatism, nationalism, reservations about alternative life styles, and conventional means for obtaining economic security. (II) They do not notably stress commitment to task, craftsmanship, independence, integrity, spontaneity, wide-ranging social and cultural tolerance and experiment, and attitudes encouraging the expectation of occupational changes. . . .[28]

If anyone in a democratic society should have informed, buttressed, rational convictions, vital causes to which he is committed, and significant persisting and emerging issues in which he is sincerely and deeply involved, it should be the teacher. When his point of view is germane to classroom study in a given social, temporal, and areal context and adolescent interests and abilities, falls within his area of competence and capacity, arises out of a study of available data, and is sought by his students, he should explain his position. He should invite his charges to share, explain, illustrate, consider, and defend their own thoughts and beliefs and to look at the sources of their information and their impressions. He should provide classes with varied kinds of data, secure resource persons with divergent leanings, and introduce ideas—often opposed to his own or to those more generally accepted—which may have escaped the attention of his students. And he should tender his personal reflections and persuasions, carefully announced and labeled as "one man's opinion," for the same kind of examination to which other perspectives will be subjected. The teacher must be an exemplar of rational, purposeful behavior. He should appear as a very *human* person who is *fallible* but who cares.

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[27] Boyd H. Bode. *Modern Educational Theories.* New York: Vintage Books, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. and Random House, Inc., first published by The Macmillan Company, 1927. pp. 133-34.

[28] Donald N. Michael. *The Next Generation: The Prospects Ahead for the Youth of Today and Tomorrow.* New York: Vintage Books, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. and Random House, Inc., 1963. p. 108.

Two unusually important dimensions of the reflective orientation should be mentioned briefly before this section is concluded: open-mindedness and a spirit of tentativeness.

Open-Mindedness. In *How We Think*, Dewey defined the attitude of open-mindedness as

> . . . freedom from prejudice, partisanship, and such other habits as close the mind and make it unwilling to consider new problems and entertain new ideas. But it is something more active and positive than these words suggest. It is very different from empty-mindedness. While it is hospitality to new themes, facts, ideas, questions, it is not the kind of hospitality that would be indicated by hanging out a sign: "Come right in; there is nobody at home." It includes an active desire to listen to more sides than one; to give heed to facts from whatever source they come; to give full attention to alternative possibilities; to recognize the possibility of error even in the beliefs that are dearest to us. . . .[*]

In a democracy both ends and means, "why's" and "how's," values and evaluative systems must have a living quality and must be interrelated, if not conterminous. Citizens have to be receptive to new goals and strategies and ready and willing to reexamine enduring thoughts and procedures. Today's end, when reached tomorrow, may serve as a means to ever-higher ends.

> . . . The process is endless. For no sooner is one ideal realized than it sug-

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[*] John Dewey. *How We Think: A Restatement of the Relation of Reflective Thinking to the Educative Process.* Boston: D. C. Heath & Company. 1933. p. 30. © 1933. Reprinted by permission of D. C. Heath and Company.

gests a new and higher ideal—and so on forever. Never can man rest. Never can he look upon the world and say that it is good. Since the quest for perfection and truth is endless, its pursuit is both tragic and heroic. . . .[illegible]

Democratic citizens need to develop flexible, creative conceptual styles instead of rigid, closed modes. Our youth should not be forced to put their marbles into the game of life too soon or to "play for keeps" before they have had a chance to try out many skills and to experiment with certain forms of extrapolation. H. Gordon Hullfish and Philip G. Smith, in their *Reflective Thinking: The Method of Education*, put it this way:

> . . . Students should be encouraged to play with ideas, not in order to live in a realm of fantasy where exact knowledge is irrelevant but, rather, to gain a feeling for the way in which the projected hypothetical idea, when tested against what one knows, opens the way to new knowledge, to continued transformation of the human scene. . . .[illegible]

When Sinclair Lewis penned this description of young Dr. Arrowsmith, he pointed the way toward the sort of open-mindedness we must preserve and magnify in our classrooms:

> With all his amateurish fumbling, Martin had one characteristic without which there can be no science: a wide-ranging, sniffing, snuffling, undignified, unself-dramatizing curiosity, and it drove him on.[illegible]

A Spirit of Tentativeness. It should be apparent from what has already been said in this chapter that a spirit of tentativeness is essential in our country and necessary in our educational system. With only the most hazy notion of what the twenty-first century may hold in store for our world, our nation, and our youth (who will then be adults, of course), we cannot draft complete, firm plans based upon an unyielding group of assumptions. The only thing we can be sure of is continuous and unrelenting change. We must equip our young people, as best we can, to live with change. Students can study, with a degree of objectivity and insight, certain of the alterations that have occurred in the past and during their own existence in individuals' lives, groups, societies and cultures, locales, resources, technology and science, the arts, institutions, ideas, values, etc. They can examine and try to explain variations in rates of change—spurts, plateaus, decelerations, lags, and breaks. They may endeavor to

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[illegible] Agnes E. Meyer. *Education for a New Morality*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957. p. 89.

[illegible] H. Gordon Hullfish and Philip G. Smith. *Reflective Thinking: The Method of Education*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1961. p. 142.

[illegible] Sinclair Lewis. *Arrowsmith*. New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1961. p. 280.

grapple with properties and possible effects and side-effects of various transformations. They may even find that given changes can be anticipated, planned for, resisted, or facilitated.

In the classroom, youth can encounter new information and perspectives each day, revise their understandings and views of their universe, develop some patience which may sustain them during periods of disequilibrium, anxiety, upset, frustration, and disappointment brought about by change. Perhaps we can give our youngsters a bit more confidence and courage with which to meet the time to come. Hopefully, too, we may help youth to internalize a desire to work for a better and brighter tomorrow for themselves, their nation, and their world. With heightened reflective capabilities and an increased faith in the future, our students may come to appreciate and accept this view attributed to Henry J. Kaiser, the industrialist: "What a man can imagine or conceive in his mind he can accomplish. Impossibles are only impossibles as thinking makes them so." Or, our youth may understand and agree to a greater extent with the concept implied in these observations made by Hadley Cantril, the psychologist:

> An outstanding characteristic of man is his ceaseless striving. Irrespective of the particular culture in which he is born, irrespective of the particular groups with which he may become identified, man seems to carry on constantly in some purposive way. . . .[illegible]
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> • • •
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> It is characteristic of man that he has the capacity to recognize that what is, does not have to stay as it is, and that there may be something he can do about it. . . .[illegible]

Freedom with Responsibility

A third and final instance of an apparent disjuncture between a component of the democratic social philosophy and practices in some of our secondary schools could be cited. An integral part of our democratic ideology is a belief in freedom with responsibility. Each person should be free to discover and follow his own purpose or purposes; to pursue his own goals; to find his own satisfactions void of interference, want, and insecurity; to search for and have access to the truth; to develop and assert his own individuality; to express his wishes, thoughts, ideas, and recommendations; to participate in the decisions which affect his life; to establish and shape his own contacts and relationships with others; to

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[illegible] Hadley Cantril. *The "Why" of Man's Experience*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950. p. 17.

[illegible] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

select his own life's work; and to use his leisure time as he deems fitting. It should go without saying, however, that his freedom must always be accompanied by the proviso that he cannot interfere with the rights and privileges of others. As Chief Justice Holmes liked to phrase it, "One fellow's freedom ends where the other fellow's nose begins." A person can be free in a democracy only if those who share his way of life are equally free. He should have the freedom to select among the alternatives known to him, but he must be answerable for the consequences of his choices. Taking the long view, his individual freedom is tied to "The People, as a community of the entire living population, with their predecessors and successors." [illegible]

While he must have personal autonomy, this does not mean that he

> . . . has or should have free reign. All society depends for its existence and growth on a balance between individual self assertion and the general welfare. If man's instincts were unchecked, society could not exist. The continuous balancing and resolving of opposing tendencies within oneself, and between self and society—the ability to do this in keeping with personal values, an enlightened self interest, and the interests of the society one lives in—all these lead to an increasing consciousness of freedom and form the basis for man's deepening sense of identity, self respect and inner freedom, in short his autonomy.
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> One's sense of identity, the conviction of being a unique individual, with lasting and deeply meaningful relations to a few others; with a particular life history that one has shaped and been shaped by; a respect for one's work and a pleasure in one's competence at it; with memories peculiar to one's personal experience, preferred tasks, tastes, and pleasures—all these are at the heart of man's autonomous existence. Instead of merely allowing him to conform to the reasonable demands of society without losing his identity, they make it a rewarding experience, quite often a creative one. [illegible]

In a book entitled *Freedom and Responsibility in the American Way of Life*, Carl L. Becker pointed to an issue of prime importance which is associated with the delicate balance of freedom and responsibility. "The question," wrote the historian, "is not whether freedom and responsibility shall be united, but how they can be united and reconciled to the best advantage." [illegible] The meaningful, sensitive unification and reconciliation of freedom and responsibility in our nation and its schools is a difficult, immense, serious, and continuing task, an undertaking which we have largely ignored or approached in a superficial manner. Teachers, coun-

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[illegible] Walter Lippmann. *The Public Philosophy*. New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1956. p. 32.

[illegible] Bruno Bettelheim. *The Informed Heart*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1960. pp. 72-73.

[illegible] Carl L. Becker. *Freedom and Responsibility in the American Way of Life*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1951. p. 3.

selors, supervisors, and administrators—as lay citizens and as educators—must think at length and in depth about this issue at both theoretical and operational levels.

The freedom-responsibility problem can be likened to a two-sided coin with respect to many of America's young people today. On one face of the coin we find that a number of adolescents have or expect various privileges which are not coupled with matching responsibilities. On the other plane of the coin are those youths who have performed a host of duties but who have seldom or never stretched their wings.

The coin's first face might include a few of our youth for whom substantial portions of life have an almost carte blanche character. If they have pondered about freedom at all, they may view it as license, limited only by the size of their fathers' checkbooks. In certain cases, these young people have had more and more liberties and benefits and have become less and less reliable and appreciative. The gratification of their wants is their foremost, if not solitary, concern. The ills of the world, the problems of their nation, and the pressing difficulties of their less fortunate peers are of secondary or of no real importance to them. They have never been "pushed around" or had the feeling of being "underdogs." The usurpation of human rights is an abstraction for them if, indeed, it is part of their cognizance.

They have received as their due their higher socioeconomic status and their comparative affluence, and they see white-collar work as an inconvenience they will have to tolerate some day. They take for granted the fine educational opportunities which have been, are, and will be theirs and perceive instruction as a service performed for them by teachers, not too unlike other services which they and their parents purchase. When they engage in a classroom discussion centered on a contemporary problem which confronts the peoples of the world or the citizens of the United States, they view this participation as an academic exercise that will culminate in a grade and in credits necessary for entrance into "one of the *better* colleges or universities."

Another group of adolescents which could be placed on the coin's first surface would be the "rebels without a cause." They want unlimited freedom to vent their frustrations, but they make no effort to improve their condition, let alone that of others. They want to be heard, yet they do not wish to listen. They have mastered the American propensity for "griping"; however, they devote no time or energy to finding out about the reasons for problems and have no specific ideas for remedies. They are joined, as well, by still another aggregate of young people who feel that the world owes them a living and that they have no obligation to function as contributing members of society. They want the freedom to be apathetic and lethargic, even though the price for this freedom must be paid by the endeavors and sacrifices of persons known and unknown to them.

On the second side of our imaginary coin we might observe at least two collections of youth. For both of these bodies, responsibilities far outweigh freedoms. One group is made up of young people whom adults have deprived, intentionally or unintentionally, of opportunities to articulate their thoughts, impressions, problems, and hopes; to test some of their insights and proposals; and to cope with a few of their personal needs in fresh ways. Either their urges to breathe some of the winds of freedom have been discouraged or checked by overprotective or overdirective parents, teachers, and others; or, as the expression goes, "They don't know what they've been missing." At any rate, their lives have been so crowded by the expectations and demands of others regarding the endless things "one *should* and *must* do" that there has been no room for trying out some things they might like to do.

The other group on the second face of the coin is composed of adolescents who are aware of certain freedoms, rights, and privileges but who have turned away from them or traded them for additional responsibilities, duties, and restraints in their desire for more approval, sense of belongingness, security, direction, and order in their lives. To use Erich Fromm's [20] words, there has been a form of "escape from freedom" on the part of given youth.

Obviously, the groups pictured above are not offered as pure, precise scientific models or psychological types derived from research. They do not include the complete range of adolescent behavior one might associate with freedom and responsibility. Nor should it be assumed that particular young people would fall clearly, once and for all, into a single category. Also, it should be apparent that other systems of classification could be proposed that would serve the prime purpose of this discussion just as well. The main point here is that outside of school and in, our youth are exposed to and experience quantitative and qualitative differences in freedom and responsibility, running the gamut from maximal freedom with minimal responsibility to the converse. As with the previously mentioned democratic tenets—the dignity and worth of the individual human personality and the intelligence and rational capacity of man—creative, functional approaches tailored to the situations of given students in the freedom-responsibility area are needed in our schools.

America's youth should be encouraged to discover and explore significant freedoms, especially those tied to freedom of the mind, the keystone freedom for democratic man, mentioned earlier in this chapter. Through the use of manifold sources from a variety of humanistic, artistic, and scientific fields, they should try to fathom and interpret in their lives explicit and implicit definitions of freedom. They should trace portions of man's struggle to name, exercise, and preserve his rights. In a figurative sense, they should handle and heft privileges that have become dear to mankind in an effort to find out why these boons have assumed certain configurations and been assigned varying weights.

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[20] Erich Fromm. *Escape from Freedom*. New York: Avon Books, 1965.

If students have been quite free, they can be helped to identify the benefits they have enjoyed. Hopefully, some of the youth in this group may even build a sufficient appreciation of what they have and its import in self-realization that they will be inspired to labor, in whatever way they can, for the extension of the rights and privileges of others. If they have had insufficient opportunity or personal security to tap freedoms accessible to them, they may be aided to stride with new-found confidence toward portals that lead to broader, more open avenues of experience and existence. Perhaps a rare number of our young people can achieve a balanced viewpoint akin to that of Albert Einstein [20] as put forth in this simple, yet penetrating, statement:

> When we survey our lives and endeavours we soon observe that almost the whole of our actions and desires are bound up with the existence of other human beings. We see that our whole nature resembles that of the social animals. We eat food that others have grown, wear clothes that others have made, live in houses that others have built. The greater part of our knowledge and beliefs has been communicated to us by other people through the medium of a language which others have created. . . . The individual is what he is and has the significance that he has not so much in virtue of his individuality, but rather as a member of a great human society, which directs his material and spiritual existence from the cradle to the grave.
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> A man's value to the community depends primarily on how far his feelings, thoughts, and actions are directed towards promoting the good of his fellows. We call him good or bad according to how he stands in this matter. It looks at first sight as if our estimate of a man depended entirely on his social qualities.
>
> And yet such an attitude would be wrong. It is clear that all the valuable things, material, spiritual, and moral, which we receive from society can be traced back through countless generations to certain creative individuals. The use of fire, the cultivation of edible plants, the steam engine—each was discovered by one man.
>
> Only the individual can think, and thereby create new values for society—nay, even set up new moral standards to which the life of the community conforms. Without creative, independently thinking and judging personalities the

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[20] Albert Einstein. *The World As I See It.* Alan Harris, translator. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1949. pp. 8-9.

upward development of society is as unthinkable as the development of the individual personality without the nourishing soil of the community.

In this chapter the author has tried to refresh his memory and that of his readers regarding facets of the democratic social philosophy, and he has attempted to relate this ideology to the education of youth. Using three doctrines frequently associated with the democratic faith, the writer has also endeavored to examine with his audience some practices in secondary schools which fall short of our societal goals. And, he has tried to share with his readers various proposals pointed toward actions that educational personnel might carry out to make democracy more meaningful and operational in our schools.

The author recognizes certain difficulties, problems, and uncertainties inherent in translating his suggestions into curricular and methodological functions. But he finds a great deal of challenge and satisfaction in tackling with others in and out of his profession the gigantic and unending job which lies ahead. He would like to close, then, with a short passage from *The Mind As Nature* which expresses his thoughts more forcefully and eloquently than his own words would. They were written by Loren Eiseley, a philosophical scientist and essayist.

> . . . [The teacher] is a sculptor of the intangible future. There is no more dangerous occupation on the planet, for what we conceive as our masterpiece may appear out of time to mock us—a horrible caricature of ourselves.
>
> The teacher must ever walk warily between the necessity of inducing those conformities which in every generation reaffirm our rebellious humanity, yet he must at the same time allow for the free play of the creative spirit. It is not only for the sake of the future that the true educator fights, it is for the justification of himself, his profession, and the state of his own soul. He, too, amid contingencies and weariness, without mental sustenance, and with tests that fail him, is a savior of souls. . . .*

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Youth Education: A Psychophysical Perspective

WILLIAM W. WATTENBERG

THE PRIMARY purpose of this chapter is to provide a psychophysical perspective so that educational issues can be viewed in the context of the ways in which individuals develop during their teen years. Directly or indirectly this will allow us then to judge whether suggested solutions of the issues are likely to prove feasible. The bulk of the chapter will be devoted to concise summaries of the facts concerning individual development as we thought we knew them in the late 1960's. At the conclusion we shall suggest some criteria, derived from these facts, for use in appraising the validity of school activities.

Extent and Nature of Diversities

The most important fact of all is that we cannot afford stereotyped thinking about adolescents in general or even about those coming from various subcultures. Teen-agers are a diverse group. Although some adults are prone to oversimplify, to assume that there are single, isolated facts which are predictive of behavior, the fact is that if we know about an adolescent only his or her sex, or intelligence, or socioeconomic level, we cannot safely venture any guesses as to how he will behave, what will interest him or how he will view schooling.

The statisticians among the readers of this chapter will recognize what is implied by the fact that although, when we contrast certain groups, the measures of central tendency yield significant differences, the correlations yielded by the same variables account for little of the variance. There is so much variation in our usual subgroupings that they overlap on most attributes. A simple illustration will make the point clear. As a group, boys have higher average scores on science tests than girls, but many boys have scores falling below the feminine average, and vice versa.

Age of Puberty. Illustrating this situation is the fact that, as far as puberty is concerned, young people do not grow by hard and fast schedules. Generally speaking, well-nourished children mature earlier than do the poorly nourished, and girls mature, on the average, a year to a year and a half earlier than boys. Approximately 10 percent of girls are mature or maturing at 11; 50 percent at 13; and 90 percent at 15; among boys, comparable general statistics would show 10 percent at 13; 50 percent at 15; and 99 percent at 17. In an eighth grade class of 40 children, then, we would have, physically speaking, 10 little girls; four who were budding; and six young women; plus 18 little boys, and two young sprouts.

Physical Health. Generally speaking, adolescents are a healthy lot. The most significant cause of death is not disease but accidents. However, among youth who live in poverty, the difficulties of obtaining medical help have left their marks. In a physical survey of high school graduates who applied for a special program from inner-city areas in Detroit, 80 percent were found to have significant defects—carious teeth, obesities, anemias, etc.—which would affect their physical fitness.

Intellectual Adeptness. Of all the sources of diversity mentioned in this chapter, intellectual ability is the one most familiar to educators. There is no point to laboring this issue. Regardless of socioeconomic background or sex, any large group of teen-agers will contain a few who have the ability to complete graduate work with distinction; and a few who cannot function outside protected settings. We know that schools do not fully develop the available talents; approximately one out of every 20 American youth who have potential for graduate attainment becomes a high school dropout.

Cognitive Style. Equally significant is the fact that by adolescence, young people have developed different approaches to the business of thinking. Although no standard scheme for categorizing the differences has won universal acceptance among psychologists, such researches as the now-famous comparisons by Getzels and Jackson, of "creative" as opposed to "non-creative" high school students, have underlined the significance of those variables.

Some young people, for instance, approach problems intent upon finding *the* right answer; some, in a spirit of playfulness, like to toy with many possible solutions. Some are fluent; others, deliberate. This is an area which is very likely to see expanded research. School people should be alert to the possibility that the findings may underline the inadequacy of many highly trusted educational procedures.

Anxiety Levels. For a long while we have known that children and adolescents, as well as adults, have a wide range of response on tests measuring anxiety levels. This colors their attitudes and performance in the classroom. Anxiety can block learning and can affect the ability of young people to produce. A tense boy or girl may be unable to write a report or to present material in class.

A special problem, the subject of a research program by Sarason and his co-workers, is "text anxiety." In varying degrees, young people respond differently to test situations. In schools which rely heavily on written tests to measure performance and to assign marks, this fact results in grave inequities. Indeed, there are experiments which show that the final scores on tests may be affected more by how the test was given than by the methods used in teaching the class.

Achievement Motivation. Another subject which has been the focus of recent research is the motivation to achieve. Here, again, more diversities appear. High school students with low motivation often prove to have a weak sense of the future. Highly motivated students prize individual distinctiveness; poorly motivated students shun it.

Insofar as most teachers expect young people as a matter of course to respond to expectation of future advantage and to want to be outstanding, is it any wonder that we alienate the many youth who react otherwise? Incidentally, although low achievement motivation is epidemic, but not universal, in schools serving lower-class neighborhoods, it and its concomitants are far from unknown in the best schools in the most affluent suburbs.

Self-concepts. The subject of the self-concept has proven itself as highly significant in a flood of careful researches. Young people who view themselves as capable have performance records above expectation for their ability in junior high school, high school, and college. Follow-ups to Terman's famous genetic studies of genius show that those with confidence are the ones most successful in life. In Columbus and Akron, Ohio, Reckless and his colleagues found that boys with positive self-concepts resisted the criminogenic forces of delinquent subcultures, became "good boys in bad neighborhoods."

We now know that boys and girls who come into adolescence with strong, positive self-concepts retain them. Those who have weak or negative self-concepts present a tricky problem. However, they do respond to counseling and to a succession of success experiences. We are not yet sure how durable these improvements may be.

Arousal and Curiosity. Because it has entered only the most recent of textbooks, most educators have had little opportunity to learn about the fascinating research on arousal phenomena and the effects of change. One writer on the subject speaks of what he calls "the arousal jag." In common experience, this is exemplified by the lad who trudges up a snowy slope with a sled so he can slide down so he can trudge back up and slide down again.

Our traditional psychologies of learning assume that people respond to drives and to disequilibrium. The satisfaction of the drive or the restoration of equilibrium is taken to be a satisfactory state of affairs, the attainment of which fixes (reinforces) learning.

Now, students of brain physiology have developed clear evidence that there is a very important "something more" to the story. Arousal, novelty are satisfying in their own right. Teachers who sense this fact have managed to smuggle playfulness into classrooms. It is also fairly obvious that young people differ in their capacity for arousal and their enjoyment of novelty. At the one extreme we have the obese boys and girls whose weight is due not to food intake but to lack of activity; at the other extreme are the puppy-like boys and girls with a strong sense of fun whose activeness is exhausting to watch. There is high likelihood that this relatively neglected source of variation may be the subject of sustained attention in years to come.

Other Attributes. This section of the chapter could not encompass all the dimensions of adolescent variability. There are additional sources of diversity, each of which merits discussion. Young people differ, for example, in their tolerance of ambiguity, their reactions to complexities, the attitudes and values they hold, their empathy with other people, and the patterns of their interests. Each of these does have major impact on what they learn and how they learn.

Puberty, a Turning Point

What gives special educational interest to the period of adolescence is that it can be and often is a period of very substantial change in individual lives. Although there are individuals whose progress from birth to adulthood has an orderly, stable, rather predictable course, there are many whose careers show surprising turns, often at adolescence.

Intellectual Growth. The situation is clearly illustrated by data gathered in longitudinal investigations. Reworking the material collected in the Harvard Growth Study, for example, Anderson and his co-workers found four distinctively different patterns of growth curves:

1. Many young people, as expected, had a steady rate of growth. So to speak, their IQ's were stable, the same at all ages.

2. Others, however, seem to have found themselves late in childhood. Their rate of intellectual growth changed sharply upward at puberty.

3. By contrast, a third group slowed down at puberty.

4. A fourth group grew by fits and starts throughout life.

There is hard-fact verification of the reality that some youngsters are "late-bloomers"; others go into an academic tailspin at puberty. It is almost as though the period of pubescence was, in their lives, a switching point. They entered on one track and left on another, going in a different direction.

Sex-appropriate Behavior. At about this same age, boys and girls are likely to show almost in extreme form behavioral signs that they are conscious of sex-identification. In early adolescence they tend to withdraw for most of their free social life into single-sex groups. The boys scuffle, play vigorous games, and dream of adventure; the girls start using lipstick and confide in each other, gigglingly, about boys.

As this is being written, many authorities are worrying at the fact that now a very tiny minority of boys is opting openly and unabashedly to dress and act female; we have always been more tolerant of girls who vigorously compete with boys.

Relation of Social Development to Academic Development. The complex interaction between the several aspects of change is illustrated by observations made in the course of the Adolescent Growth Study at the University of California. At a clubhouse operated to observe social behavior it was noted that many boys and girls went through a stage of being somewhat clumsy in boy-girl relationships. When records were cross-checked it was noted that those same youngsters were reported by their teachers as undergoing a scholastic slump. Later, when the clubhouse observers reported that the boy-girl relations had been mastered it was noted that school work also improved.

Relation of Parental Values to Academic Development. One of the hidden factors possibly responsible for some of the changes may be traced to the fact that for young children academic motivation tends to reflect the value placed on achievement by the parent of the opposite sex. In high school, by contrast, we find that it often reflects the values of the same-sex parent.

This shift lies behind a story so familiar that it was described by English and Pearson as the most common form of emotional disturbance in adolescence: A boy who had achieved well in elementary school in response to the urging of his mother becomes an inexplicably poor student in high school when he rebels against being "Mother's good little boy."

Identity Crises. A number of writers in recent years have noted that many adolescents seem to wrestle with the problem of establishing a secure individuality. This has two interlinked aspects: On the one hand they seem to be concerned with the nature of their uniqueness; on the other, with what meaning to endow their group connections. Much current social malaise takes the form of identity crises or existential crises. In former periods of history in the Western World, many relatively literate adolescents wrote diaries in which they dealt with these questions. The concern expressed has been taken as adolescent par excellence. Today, we see a deeper and more pervasive problem in such musings, and the actions which stem from them.

Model Range. All young people at times identify with or model themselves after men and women in the immediate environment. For children these models are likely to be parents, teachers, police officers, clergymen, or other important adults. Beginning with puberty, there may be a significant shift. The source of models moves away from the immediate primary social groupings and toward public figures portrayed in literature or mass media. To a degree, for some, the models also change from adults held in awe to contemporaries. So to speak, as father and mother seem less attractive as examples, the Beatles, the athletes, the youthful beauty queens, and the Peace Corps heroes take on an immediacy of appeal.

Peer-gratification. Psychologically speaking, the greatest change of all is that the young people learn how to gratify each other's needs and to obtain gratification from each other. If one were to underscore this by appealing to a Skinnerian mode of thought we would say that as potent reinforcers for conduct, the peer group begins to overshadow adults. One index to this is the general finding that group counseling and group therapies appear to be more effective with adolescents than are individual counseling and one-to-one psychotherapies.

Reaction to School

With these changes, as one would expect, we often witness shifts in the way in which school is regarded. Children generally go to school as a matter of course. Their parents send them or take them; that is that. Of course, skilled teachers who know how to enable purposiveness to enter education often help children see achievement of their goals as something which happens in school. However, for adolescents the variety in purposes expands. Now, the boy or girl enters the building with objectives of his own in mind. Some of these are tangential or even contrary to the traditional expectations of parents and teachers.

Social Experience. To many a teen-age boy or girl the salient feature of school is the opportunity it affords to be with one's friends, or to be where one can encounter potential companions. To young people the school is an important social setting. It is not without reason that we find most dropouts were having unsatisfactory social experiences before they decided to quit school; among children who were enrolled in special classes for the mentally retarded, those who found social satisfaction in secondary schools often continue until graduation. We cannot afford ever to underestimate the significance of these reactions.

Coping Skills. As young people move toward adulthood they have to reassure themselves as to their competence in dealing with people, things, and ideas. For this purpose the school provides a setting rich in opportunities. Not only is there the peer group of both sexes, but there are adults to be manipulated, tests to be mastered, writing to do, and things to be managed.

Boys and girls, young men and women thrive on challenge. The more tasks there are, the greater the uncertainties, the more stimulation and the more fun.

Target for Home Ambivalence. Psychologists have known for decades that all people tend to express in one situation emotions which derive from another in which the emotion might be perilous. This is known as "displacement." The stock example is the man who is angry with his boss but takes it out on his son. For adolescents, there can be disturbing feelings as inner needs push them to rebel on the one hand or to have undue love for a parent on another. School, once again, is rich in opportunities for displacement. The girl who harbors an intense yearning for her father's attention may feel a crush for that handsome young male teacher; the boy who is trying to break from a highly respected father can cross swords with the coach. Such outlets are necessary; they may serve a valid function.

Sex-role Practice. Similarly, as boys work at the business of becoming manly, and girls at becoming womanly, school provides situations in which they can practice and test out their conceptions of appropriate sex-role behavior. The girls can write of feelings with sensitivity; the boys can revel in math and science. In the band, boys choose to pound drums; girls, to tootle the flute. The girls can talk with counselors about their anxieties, the boys give each other outlets for aggression. If this sort of thing happens and goes well, school seems a good place; if it is confusing in these respects, it may be shunned.

Ladder to Opportunity. For the bulk of present day students, school is the place you go to learn how to get ahead. The girls value boys who have "real brains" and "will amount to something." Both boys and girls are so aware of the fact that doing well in school can change one's future that their most common complaint is of being under pressure. But, much of the pressure is of their own making.

Alienation. Unfortunately, for a minority, school stands as a close-up reflection of what to them is a nasty fact—there is little in the future for them. They sense they are doomed to be strangers to the affluence in this world of ours. Their experience is with failure in the whole business of school. So, they cut themselves off from the in-groups. They are alienated.

Some Specifics and Their Import

For young people, school is a series of discrete experiences hung together on threads of time and locale. Many of the experiences are taken for granted and produce little impact; others carry significant implications in their train. In this subsection we shall illustrate this point with a few specifics selected to sample a range of which they are exemplars rather than to pose as comprehensive listings.

Length of Unit. Young people react quite differently to the length of a unit of instruction. Impulsive boys and girls from lower socioeconomic strata may find it easier to concentrate on a math problem which takes minutes to solve than to gather material for a report due in two weeks. Vague and distant goals, by contrast, may offer challenge to a creative, highly motivated young person who prizes individuality. Many problem situations in schools which are attributed to culture conflict are created by this phenomenon.

Structure of Activities. A similar factor is presented by the way in which class activities are structured. In programs, such as art work, where everyone can be busy and independent there usually is little of the type of clash we call "bad discipline." By contrast, if a class calls for one child or a small group to be busy while the others have to constitute a polite audience, there is likely to be trouble.

Conspicuousness of Performance. For girls who are budding physically and for boys whose voices are cracking there is discomfort in any activity which forces them to be centers of attention. They may show a higher quality of performance when working inconspicuously.

"One Right Answer." The precious element of creativity can be affected by how a teacher deals with the solution of problems. One tendency

is to seek the one best answer or procedure; another is to toy with various ways of dealing with the issues.

Children who have experience in classes where the teacher encourages creativity in dealing with arithmetic problems, to cite an example, may take longer to solve new problems but get correct and "eloquent" or "elegant" answers to more problems.

Friendly Tussles. Adolescents as well as younger children are stimulated in classes where teachers introduce an element of humorous conflict or rivalry. They find that when school provides acceptable channels for aggressiveness it can be fun.

Pathologies and the School

The teen years see various types of personality becoming visible. It is during adolescence that the first sizable proportion of the population becomes psychotic. This is when delinquency reaches its peak. Also, it is then that we notice how cool are the cool cats and how doggedly conformist some can be. For our purposes, the problem is how this affects or should affect what goes on in schools.

The Classroom as "Therapy." A full-length presentation of the role of educational activities in treating various forms of emotional or behavioral illness would call for several books, even though serious attention to this topic is relatively new.

However, more and more mental hospitals find their classroom programs are a major resource in the total therapy effort. Three major dimensions of this influence deserve mention.

First, when working with adults, much use is made of occupational therapies, activities which are productive and thus keep the sick person in contact with the ultimate realities of his economic role. For adolescents, the equivalent of a job is class work. So, in the classroom his life seems to have more meaning.

Second, in a classroom social life can be more secure. Relationships with other people rarely get out of control. Structure is provided by the rules of classroom cultures and by the demands of the scholastic task.

Third, if we use as a model the customary division of personality into id, ego, and superego, most pathology entails weakness of the ego. Educational activities, if successful, are ego builders. Thus, schooling when conducted under the guidance of skilled teachers is an emotional tonic.

So potent can be these attributes of good classrooms that their provision may be as significant in the school's effect on disturbed youngsters as the vaunted special services.

Emotional Disturbance. Despite such stabilizing possibilities, during adolescence teachers will recognize in some people the signs of serious troubles—schizophrenias, depressions, and neurotic conditions. Careful surveys generally report that approximately three percent of the school population is "real sick," and another 10 percent could "use help."

Although continued good education may be an ingredient in an ultimate curative program, specialized assistance is required. Minimally, schools should provide channels for counseling and for referral.

Delinquency. In any one year, approximately five percent of teen-age boys and one percent of teen-age girls will have picked up police records due to apprehension for offences. Most serious delinquents have also had trouble in school; many are poor readers; some truant; and some upset the functioning of schools.

We are now seeing schools involved as major resources in community efforts to treat or to prevent delinquency. These efforts take many forms. Some utilize special classes for "acting out" young people and for pregnant girls; some utilize instruction to help students think through problems of staying out of trouble; some concentrate on providing work-study arrangements to prevent dropouts and to correct alienation.

The sad fact is that, if anything, delinquency rates continue to climb. Obviously, no stock solutions have been discovered. We can predict with reasonable confidence that there will be continued experimentation.

Privatism. When this book was being planned, there were young people in whose jargon "the cool" stood for blasé detachment. Although the slang may have changed, we continue to see many take refuge in quiet purposelessness. They are juvenile versions of the non-heroes who serve as central figures in the short stories of Sartre and the theatre of the absurd. A few educators, concerned about this trend, have attempted to turn the attention of classes to studying the biographies of vital people and to analysis of pressing issues.

In a few cities haunted by alliances between civic authorities and the underworld, the availability of narcotics permits chemical reinforcement of privatism. In this form all recognize its dangers; the more elegant forms remain potentially more dangerous. In some colleges and high schools, students "take trips" with LSD or marihuana. Because our humanitarian concerns have led to preoccupation with deprived delinquents we have as yet little tested experience with those who yearn to stop the world so they can get off a meaningless merry-go-round.

One can surmise that should progress be resumed toward attainment of a Great Society, educators would find privatism the next pressing problem. It is worth noting that experimental forays are now in order.

Conformity. Meanwhile we observe that our society feels impelled by the tendencies to suppress dissent. Oddly, the mass media which have done most to sell conformity also most loudly demand that the schools "do something." And then, when students speak out against national policies, the dissent is punished. Can we honestly deal with conformity as a problem if teachers are unwilling to exemplify independence? This author feels at this point the problem is not in the young people but in the adults!

Suggested Criteria

The announced purpose of this chapter was to assemble some of the facts about the psychophysical development of youth so as to suggest criteria by which to judge curriculum. Here in summary form are a few such criteria.

1. *Diversity.* Because of the diversities so typical of preadolescents and adolescents, any programs to be valid must permit the many diversities to be taken into account and given expression.

2. *Role Distribution.* Procedures should provide opportunity for young people to play a variety of significant roles in their education and in the operation of schools as well as school-related activities.

3. *Excitement and Challenge.* Educational activities should be fun. They should afford intellectual stimulation, provide academic excitement, and call forth effort. These should afford the kind of difficulty that challenges abilities within limits of the attainable.

4. *Philosophizing.* Young people are interested in deciding for themselves their purposes in life. The big questions for mankind have always been what life is for and what existence is all about. Schools cannot afford to duck these questions without abandoning pretense of academic purpose.

5. *Socializing and Peer Reinforcement.* The major effective instrumentality in changing values is the "culture" of a school, the expectations the students have of each other. Adolescents in many ways reinforce each other in many directions. A sound program would bring these influences out into the open and acknowledge their significance. This underscores the fact that the "cocurriculum" and the "extracurriculum" interact with the "regular curriculum."

6. *Evaluation.* If adolescents are to become adults who guide their actions by standards, they must learn to use standards and must see their teachers using standards. Any instructional program, then, should make provision for its own exacting evaluation. Students can play an important role in the evaluating processes. They are quite likely to be serious and

tough-minded in their approach to this task. Evaluation should be what the term implies, the application of values, and not an affable sham.

7. *Flexibility*. Finally, a good curriculum must be flexible and provide for instructional alternatives. The essential differences between people and computers is that machines do not make small mistakes but break down when confronted by unexpected contingencies for which they are not programmed. Then, they goof on a colossal scale. By contrast, human teachers will make many mistakes but will earn their pay by dealing with the unusual and the unexpected. As long as we rely on human teachers to deal with the humanity in our students, we must provide curriculums which give latitude for the errors so that ingenuity can flourish.

4

Youth Education: A Literary Perspective

ANTHONY M. DEIULIO

THE BASIS for including such a chapter as this in the 1968 Yearbook lies in the thesis that literature can be explored as a fruitful field for the study and understanding of the adolescent. There is already much evidence to support this thesis. The drama, novel, poetry, biography, and other literary forms furnish many admirable descriptions of and insights into the psychic states and changes characteristic of the "ephebic transformation" known as adolescence.

We in education are discovering that among the means for changing human behavior, those which appeal to the reason and intellect alone are less effective than those which also involve the emotions and the imagination. Pageantry, drama, literature, and art, all supported by information and knowledge, offer the best means for educating the total human personality sufficiently to change behavior. Because it enlarges our awareness of values and refines our discrimination among values, literature is a force of tremendous potential for educators. The literature of the fictional adolescent can be a supply of unusually sensitive insight into the nature and causes of human problems. Sigmund Freud himself early acknowledged the contribution which the fiction writers can make when he said in analyzing a novel:

> Story tellers are valuable allies, and their testimony is to be rated high, for they usually know many things between heaven and earth that our academic wisdom does not even dream of. In psychic knowledge, indeed, they are far ahead of us ordinary people, because they draw from sources that we have not yet made accessible for science.[1]

That an appreciation of great literature can enhance and increase one's perception of the scientific study of adolescents is already verified. The Platonic dialogues are among the best of all literary sources for the study of the pedagogy of adolescence. Possibly the fullest portrayal of adolescence in which Greek life and Greek ideals are symmetrically mingled is that of Telemachus, the only son of Ulysses, to whom a large part of the first four books of the Odyssey is devoted.

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[1] Sigmund Freud. *Delusion and Dream.* New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1917. p. 123.

Perhaps the singular outstanding example of how literature can enhance and increase our knowledge of psychology lies in the works of Shakespeare. His incomparable ability to reproduce many facets of human experience and his intuitive understanding of human personality seem even more remarkable in light of present-day psychology. In a very interesting paper, entitled "Shakespeare and Adolescence," M. F. Libby roughly sketches 74 adolescents among the comedies, 46 among the tragedies, and 19 among the histories. He then selects 30 characters who, either on account of direct references to their age, or because of their love stories, or because they show the emotional and intellectual plasticity of youth, may be regarded as typical adolescents. The most famous of these, of course, are Romeo and Juliet.

Yet it is really only within recent years that we have become conscious of adolescence—fictionally—and the possibilities it offers as a literary subject. It is high time that ephebic literature should be recognized as a class by itself and have a place of its own in the history of letters and criticism. Much of it should be individually prescribed for the reading of educators for whom it has a singular significance.

Literary Influences

The three major literary influences pertinent here which affected the writing generally from the mid-1800's to our present day and which can be illustrated in the literature of adolescence can be traced from the genteel tradition through naturalism to the growth of psychology as a science.

Beginning shortly after the Civil War and extending for about fifty years the dominant trend in American letters is generally known as "the genteel tradition"—a term first used by George Santayana in 1911.

It is very difficult to find an exact definition for the term "genteel tradition." Santayana traced the tradition back to Calvinism—not the specific teachings of John Calvin, but rather to "an expression of the agonized conscience" which beset the New England Calvinists of the Colonial Period.

American critics writing after 1920, using Santayana's term to belittle the tendencies that had long prevailed in American literature, expanded its meaning. Malcolm Cowley, in his introduction to *After the Genteel*

Tradition, described the genteel tradition as a combination of New England sin-consciousness with Victorian prudery, plus an optimism growing out of the material success that had accompanied hard work in this land of opportunity, and an admiration for the wealth and polish to be found on the Atlantic seaboard with its minor shrines of culture such as Boston and New York, Harvard and Princeton, and particularly in Europe with its major shrines such as London and Oxford.

More recently Henry F. May, in *The End of American Innocence,* equated the genteel tradition with a sort of innocence, "the absence of guilt and doubt and the complexity that goes with them," which had been characteristic of American culture before World War I but was rapidly disappearing during the war decade and was almost completely gone in the 1920's.

Some American writers did show aggressive enterprise—notably Mark Twain in his great novel of adolescence, *Huckleberry Finn* (1884). However, it was not until the "Little Renaissance" of 1912 to 1925 that a considerable number of them made a concerted and successful effort to move from the backwater of the genteel tradition to the strong current that has carried modern American literature—and the literature on adolescence—to a position of international significance.

It should be made clear that in speaking of the literature on adolescence, this chapter is not including most of the so-called "junior novels." The junior novel is essentially a story which explores and perhaps solves the personal problems of adolescence. This had its inception with the series book which was introduced in 1767 by the Boston publishers of Mein and Fleming. In 1860 they introduced *Seth Jones, or Captives of the Frontier* by Edward Ellis. Over 750,000 copies were sold. Following this, hundreds of thousands of books of this type appeared and introduced to the reader *Deadwood Dick, Ouray Jack, Little Rollo, Elsie Dinsmore, Pollyanna, Baseball Joe, The Blue Grass Seminary Girls, Nancy Drew,* and many others.

All series books followed a set and rigid pattern, and if a writer hoped to get a series started, it was necessary that he follow these rules: the hero remains adolescent; he must not fail; poverty and degradation are suffered by the wrong-doer; enterprise and virtue bring success; and the characters are always on the go. These series books about adolescents are considered inferior by authorities, since the reader has no uncertainty regarding the outcome, and because the hero is always right, good, successful, seems to know more than most experienced and learned adults although he seldom takes time off for school, and never loses.

It is interesting to note, incidentally, that in France the first person to note that there existed a problem of adolescence and to point out that literature had ignored it was George Sand in 1854. But Sand was too clairvoyant for her time, and this suggestion passed unheeded by her contemporaries.

Various characteristics of the genteel tradition can be seen in the majority of the American novels of adolescence published before 1920. The most popular authors were Harold Bell Wright, Gene Stratton-Porter, Booth Tarkington, Burt L. Standish, and Owen Johnson. According to James D. Hart's *Oxford Companion to American Literature*, Standish wrote more than two hundred Merriwell novels, which sold a total of more than twenty-five million copies. Owen Johnson presented somewhat more realistic pictures of school and college life, but he too depended on the well-established appeal to the good-hearted though mischievous schoolboy, who is guilty of occasional pranks but never of dishonesty, bullying, or sexual indulgences.

The adolescents of Booth Tarkington are to be taken more seriously. In *Penrod* (1914) we have one of the enduring adolescents of American fiction, whose further troubles and escapades appear in inferior sequels, *Penrod and Sam* (1916) and *Penrod Jashber* (1929). Twelve-year-old Penrod suffers acutely in adjusting to some of the problems of early adolescence: his expected appearance before the public in a school play in what he considers a less-than-virile costume, the temptation to bring discomfort and disgrace upon the model boy of the neighborhood, and the pangs of first love for a pretty coquette of his own age but of considerably more experience in heterosexual relations. Tarkington showed inventiveness and acute observation in relating these sufferings, but his condescending attitude is clearly apparent in this comment in *Penrod:*

> Perhaps middle age people might discern Nature's real intentions in the matter of pain if they would examine a boy's punishments and sorrows, for he prolongs neither beyond their actual duration. With a boy, troubles must be of Homeric dimensions to last overnight. To him, every next day is really a new day.

In *Seventeen* (1916) he presented an older adolescent, Willie Baxter, but again his attitude was that a boy's problems will disappear in time and should not be taken seriously. However, Tarkington's realization of the possible lasting effects of an adolescent's difficulties appears in *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1918). Following the tested formula for a sentimental novel, Tarkington demonstrated that pride would fall and patient merit would be rewarded.

All of these novels illustrate two of the characteristics of the genteel tradition in the literature of adolescence during that period, namely, the condescending humor and the sentimental drama.

The influence of the genteel tradition on the fictional treatment of adolescence began to wane toward the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century. Perhaps the most powerful literary force against it was Naturalism originating in France with the writing of Zola, Flaubert, and the brothers Goncourt. Some of the early evidence of this force appeared in such writing as Stephen Crane's *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893). This short work tells of an adolescent girl in the New York slums driven to prostitution and eventually to suicide by the sordidness of her environment and the callous indifference of her mother, her brother, and her lover. Crane showed a bit more psychological subtlety in *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895), which presents the adolescent Henry Fleming initiated into adulthood by the searing experience of war. Theodore Dreiser's first novel, *Sister Carrie* (1900), presents a naturalistic picture of an 18-year-old girl trying to support herself in Chicago. However, the bulk of the novel is concerned with Carrie's problems as an adult. Similarly, in the first few chapters of Dreiser's *The Financier* (1912), the adolescent period of Frank Cowperwood is shown.

Actually few of the early American naturalistic novels are concerned primarily with adolescents, but the trend toward Naturalism began to influence some serious novelists to treat adolescents more realistically than the genteel tradition would have treated them. In Ernest Poole's *The Harbor* (1915), less than fifty pages deal with Billy's adolescence. Yet, Poole vividly portrays the problems of a youth growing into adulthood while being torn between the genteel influence of his ex-schoolteacher mother and the harsh realities learned during furtive visits to the docks in childhood. Sherwood Anderson showed Ohio village life to be anything but idyllic in *Windy McPherson's Son* (1916) and in some of the sketches in *Winesburg, Ohio* (1919); he described an unhappy adolescence even more specifically in *Poor White* (1920).

Willa Cather in two of her early novels presented realistically the problems of adolescent girls of immigrant families in Nebraska—The Swedish Thea Kronberg in *The Song of the Lark* (1915) and the Bohemian Antonía Shimerda in *My Antonía* (1918). In both novels the harshness of prairie life is fully realized, but both girls—unlike the protagonists of naturalistic novels—have nobility of character to triumph over their stultifying environment. Adolescent males, who have less success with their problems than do her females, appear in Miss Cather's early short story, "Paul's Case" (1905) and in her later novel *A Lost Lady* (1923). Dorothy Canfield Fisher won both critical and popular acclaim with her realistic treatment of adolescence in *The Bent Twig* (1915). However, a survey of the best-seller lists of the first third of the twentieth century shows that it was 1920 before the sentimental writers of adolescence were replaced in popular favor by moderate realists like Mrs. Fisher, Sinclair Lewis, and F. Scott Fitzgerald.

Along with the growth of Naturalism in this country, one of the chief influences toward a franker treatment of adolescence in American fiction was a similar trend in English fiction. Such writings as Somerset Maugham's *Of Human Bondage* (1915), D. H. Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers* (1913), and James Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916) illustrate adolescence as a solemn and influential time of life. All of these undoubtedly served as models for some of the serious American writers.

A third major influence was the development of psychology as a science. Increased understanding of psychology brought not only better understanding and franker expression of the more obvious workings of the mind, but also a new appreciation of the obscure motives of the subconscious mind, indicating their presence and direction symbolically. This latter aspect of psychology became increasingly influential toward the middle of the century, when the frank portrayal of the physical facts of life became so complete that it was necessary to look beneath the surface to find fresh literary material.

There is no doubt that Freud and his followers have been of greatest importance in bringing this psychological influence into literature. Recognition of the influence Schopenhauer and Nietzsche in Germany and Dostoevski in Russia had on bringing new psychological understanding into the literature of Europe and America should be mentioned also. Then, too, one should not overlook the influence of Henry James, whose works are as concerned with mental processes as are those of his psychologist brother.

Cultural Influences

Gentility and false optimism characterize the literature of the fictional adolescent up to the first quarter of the twentieth century. Much of this was a reflection of the cultural state of the young America. Beginning with the decade of the 1920's the corner was turned and the emergence of frankness and rebellion in the writing became increasingly prominent in American fiction at least until the late 1940's. But in the decade of the 1920's, frankness itself was a novel and striking feature, and Dreiser, Anderson, Fitzgerald, and Dell in their fiction of adolescents shocked and startled the public merely by relating what everyone knew but had previously considered unsuitable for literature.

In the 1930's the Great Depression was an ever-present threat, and in many cases an actual torment, which inevitably affected the literature of the time. Writers who had not been disillusioned with gentility by World War I and its aftermath were pushed into left-wing positions by the stock market crash and the insecurity that followed it. Many important writers stressed social criticism, and a considerable number of them became either Communists or fellow travelers. Much of the writing was labeled "proletarian fiction." The hero of the proletarian novel had to carry the burden of "ideological conviction." Several of the proletarian novelists of the 'thirties, such as Albert Halper, Meyer Levin, and Erskine Caldwell, rose above the crude formula for the proletarian novel and produced better-than-average writing, some of it dealing with adolescents.

Although social criticism is the outstanding characteristic of fiction in the 'thirties, two of the greatest novelists of the period—Thomas Wolfe and William Faulkner—showed very little if any proletarian fervor. Their work, in fact, was more a prediction of the 1940's particularly that period following World War II. Much of the work of that time had the characteristics of a complex interplay of original, almost freakish characters, the probing of the depths of the human mind below the level of consciousness, and the presentation of characters, thoughts and actions through symbols and indirect suggestions of a kind that had previously been considered more appropriate for poetry than for prose fiction.

Two important women writers of adolescence emerged in the early 'forties, Carson McCullers and Jean Stafford, both of whom used symbols not only to communicate what they found but also to snare elusive thoughts and impulses and to tie them into narratives and drama. Curiously enough, there was a rather striking tendency to revive the Tarkington tradition of the lovable, laughable adolescent—perhaps as a reaction to the long, exhausting tension of a depression followed by a war. There was even a revival of the sentimental treatment of adolescence in the novels of William Saroyan, Betty Smith, Mary O'Hara, and Robert Nathan. Of course there was an outpouring of war novels and drama. And when peace allowed parents the opportunity to observe what had happened to their offspring during the years of absentee parenthood, there began also an even greater outpouring of stories and stage plays of juvenile delinquency. Probably the most important trend to become deeply established all through the decade of the 1940's was the use of depth psychology and symbolism in the writing of careful and conscious artistry. For although there was now practically no phase of human thought, language, or action that could not be stated frankly and forthrightly in print, this was likely to be of less importance to the real significance of the writing than what was implied and suggested by symbols.

In the 'fifties both symbolism and depth psychology became more firmly established. The numerous novels on juvenile delinquency were especially documentary. Meanwhile, a new attitude became apparent—the flippant, intellectual despair and rebellion of the "beat generation."

Born of an awareness of the tenuous uncertainty of humanity's future in an atomic age, this attitude found expression in novels glorifying the pointlessness of life and the pleasures to be found in rejecting all inhibitions and in finding release through jazz, drugs, speed, and sexual promiscuity. It is an attitude typical of a desperate and lost adolescent, and the chief novelist of the beat generation, Jack Kerouac, peopled his novels with young men who, though chronologically mature, remained emotionally adolescent.

The Fictional Adolescent and His Problems

An understanding of youth today comes first with an understanding of varied individuals as they struggle with problems and seek solutions and values in a rapidly changing world. The literature of our times dealing with adolescents recreates in personal terms youth's quest for freedom, dignity and maturity. The term literature here is defined broadly enough to include not merely the usual forms (novel, drama, short story, poetry) but also the offshoots of these basic forms as they appear in the printed word taken from the popular music of our time, movies, stage musicals, and even that folklore of modern day adolescents, the autograph book. An understanding of the problems, interests, and concerns of today's adolescent can be gained through an awareness of this literature, regardless of the merit—literarily speaking—of some of the writing.

Before turning to the more traditional literary forms, several other facets of the "literature" should be mentioned briefly. The folklore of adolescence as it appears in the autograph book is one. The rhymes which reflect distinctively the changing attitudes of early adolescents continue to be passed magically from school to school in these ever popular personal booklets. They are especially cherished by typical early adolescent girls.

Recurring endlessly in such books are great numbers of traditional comic verses which reflect, unlike the sidewalk rhyme, an almost wholly concentrated interest in topics like marriage or some other expressed awareness of the opposite sex. Such personal inscriptions almost seem to signalize the emergence of adolescence. Most typical, perhaps, are the "when you get married" jingles which actually demand no further novelty than this intriguing and all important new marriage-consciousness plus the inevitable rhyme. Such verses as the following can be found with little variation in the autograph books of at least three distinct generations: "When you get married/ And have twins/ Don't come to me/ For safety pins." Or, "When you get married/ And live in a truck/ Order your children/ From Sears, Roebuck."

Perhaps psychologists and educators have given too little attention to the underlying interest traits which these brash and spontaneous inscriptions seem to reveal. One is tempted to view this activity in the same light as we view so many of the passing fads of a particular generation of adolescents, whether it be a swooning bobby-soxer movement or a particular affectation of dress or mannerism. The choice and perpetuation of these folkways of expression, however, seem to be too prevalent and lasting among this early adolescent group to be considered in such light.

The movies for and about adolescents offer another clue to today's young people. Beginning just a few short years ago the film makers found gold in providing a world of peekaboo sex for teen-agers in a series of sand and sex movies (*Beach Party, Muscle Beach Party, Bikini Beach, Beach Blanket Bingo, How to Stuff a Wild Bikini, The Girl in the Glass Bikini*). In such movies we find the picture of the idealized teen-ager in his conception of the ideal world. There are no parents, no school, no church, no legal government authorities, no rich kids or poor kids, no money problems—none of the things that plague young people today. Such movies, according to their makers, are based on the "Peter Pan Syndrome." Part of this is that young people today don't like to be held up to the mirror of life and so they are presented as they would like to see themselves, not as others see them. To the teen-ager, this is never-never land.

On the other hand, there have been several extremely realistic, almost classic, movies which have dealt with the actual world of the modern adolescent. *Nobody Waved Goodbye* presents a texture of truth, a sense of things as they often are between adults and children, that accounts for much of the power in the film. Young people can make the identification (and adults with adults too). It illustrates how so often a child's rebellion is not a planned kind of thing. He will often say things he doesn't necessarily believe, and he will justify it by saying he has to stand on his own two feet. So often this holds true for a lot of young people. They don't have a specific replacement—they have not developed a system of coherent values and usually this results in their first rejecting the worst of the old. Peter Mark, the teen-age boy in the film, has been likened to Holden Caulfield of *The Catcher in the Rye* but many feel Peter comes closer to the average. The rapport between the central character and that of an audience of adolescents has been intense. *The Leather Boys* is another example. With movies such as these the pendulum will swing back toward a more real conception of the adolescent today and the other extreme, by contrast, must be viewed for what it is—escape.

There is much about words and melodies popular in today's music among adolescents that leaves adults wondering whether they are hearing the sound of music or intimations of the decline of the West. Today's teen-agers, with some exceptions, like their idols in music to come by the bunch, to be the same age, with flowing locks (for both boys and girls), and with their dress running from skimpy blazers to Edwardian morning coats to undertaker's suits to leather jackets to the barefooted, tieless, and plain unwashed.

What is all the shouting and moaning about in this "literary" sphere? It is still about love. Lost love, new love, hopeful love, love on a motorcycle, love in a laundromat, love of car, love of surf, lonely love. A sample of some of the words include: "I've been crying 'cause I'm lonely/ Smiles have all turned to tears"; "When you're alone and life is making you lonely, you can always go . . . Downtown"; "Who wants to buy this diamond ring/ She took it off her finger/ Now it doesn't mean a thing."

Through the din of many of these songs are melodic lines that have strong folk and blues leanings. This may be traced to the fact that 40 percent of the popular music is being composed or performed today by Negroes, and their message has definite appeal to teen-agers. According to James F. Masterson, head of the Adolescent Out-Patient Clinic in New York City, "These songs reflect the mood of depression many teen-agers experience, the feeling of loss of old things, of childhood. Children mind losing their childhood," he emphasizes. In addition to their concern for romantic love, the songs of teen-agers deal with love of fast cars, of motorcycles, crashing surfs, and violent death. Some educators maintain this reflects, among teen-agers, the need to heighten life by courting death.

A psychologist offers other reasons for youth's infatuation with speed. "The most widespread expression of the discontented search of youth is the craving for locomotion—as in the employment and misuse of speedy animals and machines," says Erik H. Erikson, professor of human development at Harvard University. "The motor engine, of course, is the very heart and symbol of our technology—and its mastery, the aim and aspiration of much of modern youth." Others ask what's wrong if heroes ride motorcycles? After all, the days of knights charging on white horses are past. Understanding the values and outlooks of another generation through popular music is an impossibility, according to Mel Powell, associate professor of music at Yale.

> . . . this music today is pretty awful aesthetically. Nevertheless, how can I judge what a 16-year-old's needs are? I don't know what it is to be born into the time of the atom. In reality, today's teen-agers belong not to another generation but to another age. We are as far apart from them as we are from the Egyptians.[3]

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[3] Phyllis Lee Levin. "The Sound of Music?" *The New York Times Magazine*, March 14, 1965. pp. 72-74. © 1965 by the New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

In summary, the lyrics of American popular songs consist largely of elements of dialogue appropriate to a limited range of situations and relationships in the cycle of courtship. They provide a conventional language in which adolescents may formulate their changing and developing reciprocal expectations and self-conceptions.

The more typical literary forms offer us perhaps the greatest wealth of information and insight into a depiction and understanding of today's American adolescent. The novels, short stories, plays and poems abound with the real, idealized, and stereotyped problems which traditionally face adolescents.

That we as educators might turn to the fictional adolescent to help us gain a serious understanding of him is a relatively new phenomenon. Recently the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare published a list of "Books For Leaders Who Work With Children and Youth." It stated that parents and youth leaders could gain, through readings, insight and perspective on an age group which seems puzzling and promising in every generation. Included in the list were the following titles: *The Red Badge of Courage; The Barren Beaches of Hell; Sundays From Two to Six; Take Care of My Little Girl; A Raisin in the Sun; Blue Denim; The World of Henry Orient; Brown Girl, Brownstones; Big Doc's Girl; The Cool World; Hard Hearts Are For Cabbages; All Quiet on the Western Front; The Catcher in the Rye; A Tree Grows in Brooklyn; Winter Wheat; Cress Delahanty; Lost Boundaries; Our Town; Look Homeward, Angel;* and *The Caine Mutiny.*

But before dealing with specific problems, a few comments on the range of adolescent types and the area from which they come are in order. A number of novels have appeared within the past few years, some of which may turn out to be classics. *Growing Up Absurd* has been called, ". . . the major book explaining the more sensitive of American youth to itself." *What Can You Do?* is a recently published first novel which makes one wonder, "Can this really be what kids are like nowadays?" The novel is a very funny, clever book about the acute egocentrism of a California wunderkind in his late teens. It is a frightening look at the world of post-Salinger youth. This teen-ager stands at the opposite pole from the more common character cliché, the sensitive teen-ager consumed with self-pity or alienated into withdrawal from society. This boy could become a new prototype in current fiction—the kid who knows it all, intelligent and amoral, well-mannered yet merciless, cynical in a young-old way, and oh so, so sophisticated. The author has shown us the glittering, empty wiseness of a generation that grew up amid all the advantages of the suburb, but what starts as irony ends as acceptance. The central character in this novel has some generally amusing observations to make on high school curricula and student organizations. We might well listen to what he has to say. *Babyhip,* a new novel by Patricia Wells, is another example. Throughout this book we see 16-year-old Sarah Green, no longer a teeny-bopper, not yet a hippie, showering ludicrous language on parents, teachers, and guidance counselors.

It is hard to find, among all the evocations of lost childhood that get into print, one in which the author ignores his wounds and devotes himself to capturing his enchantment. This is what has been done almost to perfection in *Chantemesle.* With an almost Proustian fidelity, the author has captured a childhood so free of trouble that it is almost a state in which reality and dreams are inseparable. Because it does not last, and because when it goes it goes forever, it has a special poignancy. At the other extreme there is *Last Exit to Brooklyn,* a gutter-to-sewer chronicle of a depraved gang of young hoods who hang out at the Greek's, an all-night diner, and get involved in all kinds of mayhem, homosexual violence, bloody dives, back-alley girls, and mass fornication.

The universality of the adolescent is illustrated in the novel *Rage,* called by some critics the best and truest novel of the adolescence of the female. It tells of an Italian girl growing up in postwar Florence. Like her American male counterpart, Holden Caulfield in *Catcher in the Rye,* Penny in this book sees through phoniness. Because she has refused to conform, to be a victim of hypocrisy, her opinions are, above all, honest. *The Dark,* a recent novel of Irish adolescence, could also be mentioned. It illustrates the classic struggle regarding religious vocation. One reviewer has said that no work since Joyce has presented Irish adolescence with such freshness and objectivity.

The many new books published in recent years about youth in America also range geographically as well as psychologically. *That Callahan Spunk!* is a fine novel about a first year on a Montana homestead about sixty years ago and its hero is a 13-year-old boy who is delightful—almost without problems. *Jolly* and *Gumbo* are two short novels, which draw the pangs of youth poignantly. The heroine of *Nanny Goat, Nanny Goat,* a 16-year-old girl, is learning to deal with love and hate. The tobacco country of Warren County, North Carolina, is the setting for *A Generous Man,* a novel about a 15-year-old boy who has just tumbled into manhood by way of sexual delight.

There are many other novels covering all the areas of adolescent development. Many of these open vistas unimagined by the child psychologists. Some of these will be dealt with in detail later. But books such as *Among the Cinders, The Wizard of Loneliness, The Sterile Cuckoo, Here We Go Round the Mulberry Bush, Something to Hide, A Firm Word or Two, The Sum and Total of Now,* and *The Greatest Thing Since Sliced*

Bread deal with younger adolescents. Others, such as *Too Far to Walk, Been Down So Long It Looks Like Up to Me,* and *Poorboy at the Party* deal with older adolescents in a college setting.

Of course the plays—straight, dramatic, and musical—which could be enumerated dealing with adolescents are also endless. *Gigi, Blue Denim, The Skin of Our Teeth, Ah, Wilderness!, Romeo and Juliet, Bye-Bye Birdie, The Fantastiks, West Side Story, Sound of Music, Picnic, Bernardine, Brick and the Rose, Jenny Kissed Me* are but a few.

The poetry, too, ranges from Ogden Nash's "Tarkington, Thou Should'st Be Living at This Hour" ("O, adolescence, O, adolescence/ I wince before thine incandescence") to Phyllis McGinley's "A Certain Age" ("All of a sudden, bicycles are toys/ not locomotion/ Bicycles are for boys").

But let us turn our attention to a series of adolescent tasks or problems as they appear in the literature of adolescence. Examples of the way these adolescents dealt with these problems will then be mentioned briefly and several will be dealt with in detail. These are the problems we need to remain aware of as we attempt to reach these youngsters in our classrooms.

Naturally, one of the major concerns of the fictional adolescent is the onset of puberty and those problems attendant to his physical development. He is moved to awe and bewilderment at the changes taking place within him. This is the feeling that Emily experiences in *A High Wind in Jamaica* by Richard Hughes when, after playing house in a nook in the bows and tiring of it, and thinking vaguely of some bees and a fairy queen, it suddenly flashes in her mind that she was *she*. Hughes describes Emily at the point where she achieves her first insight into and acceptance of her physical being. We see illustrated in fiction the need for the adolescent to accept his bodily appearance as vital for the acceptance of self.

If one of the central problems of adolescence is what Erikson calls establishing a "sense of identity," then we see this illustrated in the literature too. It is shown in the conversation between Stephen Daedalus and some of his friends in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man.* In it we see all the concerns of the adolescent regarding his identification. Because the adolescent does take himself seriously as he searches we find him speaking dogmatically, violently, sadly, extravagantly, eruditely, opinionatedly, discursively, on many abstract, political, and philosophical themes.

The need to belong and get along socially is neatly illustrated in a long passage by J. P. Marquand in *So Little Time* when Jeffrey wonders what it would have been like if there had been anything in his youth to promote self-confidence or self-assurance. Even Anne in *The Diary of Anne Frank* finds that, "If I talk, everyone thinks I'm showing off; when

I'm silent they think I'm ridiculous; rude if I answer back, sly if I get a good idea, lazy if I'm tired, etc., etc."

The fictional adolescents' concern over the meaning of sex abounds in the literature. In *Death of a Hero* by Richard Aldington we see much of the nonsense to which the adolescent is prey, much of it inflicted on him by adults, peers, and his reading of sex "literature." So much of the confusion in his mind is also the result of obscure, mysterious half-truths or untruths couched in unfortunate language. Even the phenomenon of the mid-adolescent impulse to love someone of the same sex is illustrated. This homosexual phase—a need for intimacy, for sharing secrets, for exploring erogenous zones of the body, for hero worship and crushes—can range from the passing miserable and joyful innocence of 14-year-old Tonio Kröger and Hans Hansen in *Tonio Kröger* by Thomas Mann to the passionately consummated attachment 16-year-old Ursula Brangwyn has for her schoolmistress, Winifred Inger, in D. H. Lawrence's *The Rainbow.*

Emphasis in recent years on family relationships and family living has been reflected in our curriculum. The need to establish newer patterns of interaction with parents and family is illustrated in various kinds of settings ranging from the Baxter household in Booth Tarkington's *Seventeen* to *I Remember Mama* and *Life With Father.* Even in these sometimes overly sentimentalized accounts of family life we see the difficulty the adolescent has in establishing these new patterns. It is difficult for him to do this without anxiety and tension even with these cooperative and understanding families.

One of the classic problems found in the literature deals with the family where parents constantly overemphasize the material benefits to be expected from higher education. "Work with your head instead of your back" is their refrain. This phenomenon seemed to wane but appears to be coming back strong once again since Sputnik. The adolescents in these earlier stories were often afraid to point out a truism of their own generation that a skilled trade, a higher bracket white collar job or a good small business may be more highly paid and offer greater continuity of employment than a number of the professions. These adolescents experience a good deal of panic and guilt if they do not meet their parents' expectation in this regard. It may be lack of adequate communication, as much as a derogatory attitude of parents to children, which the adolescent finds hard to accept, as *Asphalt and Desire* by Frederic Morton illustrates.

Then, too, there is the sensitivity which an adolescent feels about his family when eager to impress his friends. In *The Go-Between* by L. P. Hartley, we find Leo, the young protagonist, preparing for a month's visit to a friend's country house and fearing his mother will accompany him. He is haunted by the schoolboy's fear that his mother won't look right, do right, be right in the eyes of the other boys and their parents. The family peculiarities which he more or less disregarded up to this point suddenly assume great importance for him. And he is quite astonished at finding an angry resistance as he embarks on a single-handed campaign to remake his entire family.

An adolescent's relationship with siblings of varying ages may show differing degrees of complexity. If there are much younger siblings he may sometimes show the aggressiveness he dares not display too openly toward the parents. But the opposite may also be true. In Chapters 21 and 22 of Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye* the author subtly, humorously, and rather poignantly describes an adolescent whose relationship with his younger sister provides stability and meaning in a world which has become confused, "phoney," even overwhelming to him.

The adolescent's parents' attitude toward his siblings coupled with a considerable degree of difference in their acceptance of himself may very much influence the adolescent's relationship at home. Even if there are no unfavorable comparisons, the knowledge that a parent prefers a sibling to himself may give him many painful moments. He may resolve the situation in a way which makes it more acceptable to him as Francie, in *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* by Betty Smith, was able to do.

The cultural conflicts which the adolescent faces are well known to the reader. One of the great problems in our American culture is that of facing up to the inexorable demands of conformity and, at the same time, retaining identity. This affects the adolescent particularly—and peculiarly. When the adolescent behaves "erratically," i.e., does not conform, he is subject to the gibes and censure of his peers. He learns quickly that to be accepted, one needs to conform. He soon learns to keep his real feelings pretty well guarded if they are not generally accepted, as we see in *Death of a Hero* by Richard Aldington. There are not too many adolescents hardy enough to suffer the appellation, "That crazy Delahanty girl," in *Cress Delahanty* by Jessamyn West.

The cultural patternings and conflicts vary, of course, in our multicultured America. The farm-born and -bred youth has a far different range of experience from that of the adolescent raised in the city. Bunny Dedrick in *The Tender Age* muses that, "If you lived on Heights Road you were in." Sometimes the fumblings and gropings are not due to adolescence alone but primarily to the different cultural and social stratifications from which the adolescent stems. In *Moon-Calf* by Floyd Dell, Felix is intellectually able but socially out of place because economics and occupations provide different designs for living.

Vocational choice is another problem dealt with by the fictional adolescent. The influence of economic status in the family and how it exerts a powerful influence on the youngsters in it is seen in Carl Jonas' novel, *Jefferson Selleck*. It illustrates the wide gap that frequently exists between parents and children when the parent, with every good intention, plans for his son's future. But in this case what Mr. Selleck wanted for his son's future was not what Tom wanted. Too many sons and daughters, as adults, harbor deep resentments because they are unhappy in the vocational work that was forced upon them by their parents or relatives. Although the action in *The Old Wives' Tale* by Arnold Bennett is laid in an earlier time than ours, what transpires has an eternal ring of truth to it. Today the high school teacher and the guidance counselor play an increasingly larger part in helping adolescents determine their vocation. In *Father and Son* by James T. Farrell, young Danny's teacher suggests to him he has a "calling" and the interview provides a profound emotional experience for Danny.

The problem of becoming an adult in our American culture is even more difficult since there is no clear-cut pattern as exists in many other cultures. For Ellen, in *Winter in April* by Robert Nathan, the initial glimmer of maturing involves her first sleeveless dancing gown. This simple matter brings with it her first womanly joy and sorrow and the realization that she must grow up. Here we see the ambivalence that is characteristic of adolescence.

In *The Young People* by Gertrude Schweitzer, the ambivalence of both mother and son is apparent; each understands the situation but is helpless to better it, the one to refrain from asking questions, the other to volunteer more information.

In D. H. Lawrence's *The Rainbow*, a callous, immature mother and a harsh, bitter father try to prevent their daughter Ursula from becoming free. The process of maturing involves the freeing of the adolescent from parental control. Most adolescents want to shake themselves free but are frightened and thus may be more fearful and clinging than they have been since infancy. This explains why, no matter how wise a parent or teacher may be—even in fiction—he can never be right for any length of time.

The problems the adolescent has with regard to learning are well illustrated in the fiction. All his life the adolescent has heard about the concepts of truthfulness, right and wrong, and has been expected to repeat them. But it is not until adolescence that he begins to appreciate fully their implications and to comprehend the standards by which he has always been supposed to live. Don Bradley, in *A Wreath for the Enemy,* is rebelling against the restrictions laid down by his parents when he attempts to explore ideas. In *The Last Puritan,* Santayana describes the adjustment of Oliver, the only son of wealthy parents, to the strain of a new high school, its students and its teachers, and how they affect his personality development.

Many bright students suffer from hostile anti-intellectualism among their classmates. Others avoid the intellectually difficult, and frequently, little pressure is exerted to induce students to do their best. Zelda and her two children in *The Young People* by Gertrude Schweitzer are well aware of these factors, each for his own reason. The young Marquis says to Felix, in Mann's *The Confessions of Felix Krull,* that "Learning, especially conspicuous learning, is not a gentleman's affair." And Herbie Bookbinder, the hero in Herman Wouk's *City Boy,* "had always had this mysterious blind spot toward baseball. Boys who were fools in the classrooms could juggle names and figures by the hour, it seemed, while he knew nothing." Many adolescents feel that it is not a "regular guy's" affair either and, in their need to conform and to maintain friendships, willingly suffer mediocrity in their pursuit of knowledge.

Although much of the whole question of motivation for learning still is not completely answered, there is good reason to believe that because the basic internal motivations reside in human relations (the striving for direct recognition and approval from a parent, a teacher, or a peer), the striving for external tokens of approval (prizes and marks) must somehow also reside in human relations. When a child loves the teacher he will do anything to please him, even to learning the most uninteresting subject, but he does anticipate a real expression of love from the teacher in return and as long as he gets it, he will continue to learn.

The educational history of Mr. Polly in *The History of Mr. Polly* by H. G. Wells, is a tragic wasteland for him as well as for many adolescents who are choked off because of poor motivation. The fictional adolescent at one moment wants to possess all the available knowledge there is in the world so that he can be sure of everything; the next moment, he feels, "Why bother? Nothing will help." The cockiness of the protagonist in *I'm Owen Harrison Harding* by James W. Ellison, is apparent at once. Owen's behavior in school borders on the downright insolent; it arises in great measure because teacher "was always correcting you instead of listening to what you said," and because teacher "sure didn't know how I felt or he would have kept quiet."

It would be hard to imagine novels (and their central adolescent characters) more different than *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, Catcher in the Rye, Cress Delahanty,* and *The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter.* In the first two of these we meet two young travelers—travelers in their native land and also in the geography of their souls. Their narratives are separated in time by almost seventy years, but the psychic connection between them eliminates mere temporal distance. Huck Finn and Holden Caulfield are true blood brothers, speaking to us in terms that lift wanderings from the level of the merely picturesque to that of a sensitive and insightful criticism of American life. In each story an adolescent is the narrator and his remarkable language is both a reflection of and criticism of his education, his environment, and his times.

Each is essentially a story of a quest—an adventure story in the age-old pattern of a young boy making his way in a not particularly friendly adult world. Each is an outcast seeking his freedom—which we, his adult teachers, recognize to be primarily understanding. Each is a total realist with an acute mind which enables him to penetrate sham and pretense. Each is also a moralist as well as a realist; Holden and Huck have a deep concern with ethical valuation, and each responds fully to the experiences which life offers him. "The traveler must be born again" says Thoreau; and Huck's voyage down the Mississippi is a series of constant rebirths, a search for identity. Huck is trapped by a society whose shortcomings he sees and says, "I can't stand it."

Holden, like Huck, is also a refugee. He flees the campus of Pencey Prep and goes to New York City before rejoining his family. Holden can't stand "a world full of phonies." Like Huck, he too is depressed by the notion that somehow he is a misfit, that he is fighting a constant war with society. The yardstick which Holden applies to the world is a simple one—too simple perhaps, too rigorous, too uncompromising, for anyone but an adolescent (or as the popular phrase has it, "a crazy, mixed up kid") to attempt to apply to a complex world: it is the test of truth.

These two novels, then, in addition to being comic masterpieces and superb portrayals of perplexed, sensitive adolescents, deal obliquely and poetically with a major theme in American life, past and present—the right of the nonconformist to assert his nonconformity. In them, 1884 and 1951 speak to us in the idiom and accent of two youthful travelers who have earned their passports to literary immortality.

Let us look for a moment at the adolescents in *The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter* and *Cress Delahanty*. *Catcher* concentrates on three days in the life of an upper class New York City boy who has just been expelled from a private school, while *Heart* describes the various racial and social tensions of a Southern town, over the period of a year, as seen through the eyes of the young daughter of a poor family. *Cress* catches separate scenes in the life of a middle class California girl over a period of four years. Yet all three deal with adolescence without sentimentality, and without condescension, but with a deeply sympathetic understanding. And the problems of the three never remain merely those of adolescence, but become those of American society generally—and education in particular—as well. Holden shows us the fictional adolescent of the city in modern day America with all the emotional starvation and brittleness which city life can bring. Not typical? Yet his problems in this setting are as central to twentieth century America as Mark Twain's Mississippi River was to the pioneer nineteenth.

With greater complexity and greater realism, although with less art, Carson McCullers embodies many of the same problems of adolescence, and its confrontation of the evils of experience, in her novels *The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter* and *The Member of the Wedding*. In the latter, Frankie Adams, a disturbed adolescent, embodies in exaggerated form, all of those traits of immaturity which other novels have described more normally. Frankie's feeling of desperate isolation drives her to identify herself with her older brother and his fiancée, until she tries to join them even on their honeymoon. But this grotesque situation merely emphasizes the confusion of all adolescents. By contrast, *The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter* seems hardly to describe adolescence at all. The youthful Mick Kelly appears as a background figure, observing and partly sharing the tragedies of the deaf mutes, the Negroes and the labor agitators. At the end of the novel an older Mick Kelly is left alone facing an unfriendly world. She illustrates the struggle to come to terms with their world, to become a member of their society, to find human love—in short, to become mature. But the end is one of frustration.

In outcome and mood, *The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter* and *Cress Delahanty* are opposites, yet the two represent different faces of the same coin. Cress is merely Mick Kelly or Frankie Adams in happier surroundings, and Cress's story describes the achievement of love where Mick's describes the failure of love. Both heroines attain maturity, though in different ways. Cress is the typical adolescent American girl, and Jessamyn West has achieved the rare distinction of portraying her normal, middle-class American characters with complete success. The quality which distinguishes Cress Delahanty as well as Jessamyn West's other adolescent protagonist in *The Friendly Persuasion*, is the same which Huck Finn and Holden Caulfield valued most—that of sincerity or integrity. Like them, Cress is confused, and struggles to find out who she is. Like Cress, all of Jessamyn West's characters are normal, healthy, middle-class Americans—but with this difference. What gives them warmth and integrity, and ultimate importance, is their inheritance and shared realization of a traditional American idealism lost so often in the wasteland of our twentieth century. Cress achieves fulfillment where Mick Kelly remains frustrated. And the adolescent children of a Quaker family meet the challenge of war and its devastation face to face.

Against this background the adolescent adventures of Penrod and Sam appear merely trivial. And in *Seventeen*, Booth Tarkington's superior sarcasm becomes almost coy. Similarly Herman Wouk's *City Boy* describes the misadventures of a young hero mostly for the laughs. The mature elders of all these characters know all the answers, of course. Therefore, they find these callow adolescents simply amusing. When these characters grow up, they will see the world for what it is—a clear pattern of black and white, where all their childish confusions will disappear. And in this world of the literary adolescent, all serious problems simply vanish.

At the opposite extreme, some writers describe life as a hopeless problem, to which adolescence furnishes the hopeless prologue. Particularly the Negro novelists Richard Wright and Ralph Ellison see nothing but blackness in a bitter world. In *Black Boy* Wright has written the autobiography of the adolescent Southern Negro.

In the recently published *Go Down Dead* by Shane Stevens, we find 16-year-old Adam Clayton Henry surrounded and depressed by the hopeless hostilities of the Harlem ghetto. At 16, Adam is loaded with esoteric knowledge learned from life, not books. School he says is a place where, "Everyone shouting and screaming and nobody cares about what they is going on. But at least it somewhere to stay away from when they make you go." On a higher level, Ralph Ellison has suggested symbolically the hopeless confusion of values faced by the young Negro in *Invisible Man.*

But these two extremes merely define the frame of reference within which the modern American novelist of adolescence must work. Many novelists have treated the theme. Steinbeck's stories of *The Red Pony* are in some ways the most perfect of all, but are in miniature. Thomas Wolfe's *Look Homeward, Angel* describes vividly the problems of an American adolescent on a gigantic scale. *Tea and Sympathy,* like *The Member of the Wedding,* focuses on a single phase of the subject. And there are many more. But at his best the modern American novelist of adolescence describes the problems of his protagonists so that they become also the problems of our adolescent civilization, with both its mixed up confusion and its splendid potentiality.

Perspectives and Prospects

You may well ask, what has all this fiction to do with teacher education and curriculum development? One of the richest veins of source material available to the student of education is that represented by the fictional literature. Fifty years ago we used to say in America that the great and abiding theme of our literature was the theme of Innocence. Today, we find it easier to claim that America has at last come of age, that it has, in fact, reached an end to innocence. It would seem that the song of innocence has finally given way to the burden of experience. Someone has said that if Tarkington were to write *Seventeen* today he would have to call it *Twelve*.

One of the consequences of this transition from innocence to experience is the cult of adolescence in modern literature. The Bureau of Independent Publishers and Distributors, a trade association, annually publishes a list of paperback books chosen as "suitable for use in junior and senior high schools" by a committee of distinguished educators and librarians. The School Paperback Journal also compiles a list of Basic School Paperbacks twice a year. By looking over these two lists one can get a good idea of what our schools are doing in the literature of the adolescent.

Dealing with the category of Literature and Leisure Reading only on these lists, one finds the most revealing entries. Here are *Crash Club, Hot Rod,* and *Street Rod* by Henry Gregor Felson and *Drag Strip* by William Gault. One also finds Steinbeck's *The Red Pony*—the chaste Steinbeck, not Hemingway or Faulkner. A large fraction of "basic" books may be on the list not because they are good (some are) or appropriate (some are not) but because they have been movies. In fact some of them are known primarily as movies. So it may be that Hollywood and the networks can confer popular prestige on the books they use and therefore promote reading—of a sort.

The work of the B.I.P.D.'s committee furthermore raises some interesting questions as to what "suitability" is. Golding's *Lord of the Flies,* though basic, is not "suitable." The committee does not share the fallacy, widespread among teachers, that books about children and adolescents make appropriate reading for children and adolescents. It is difficult to generalize from *Huckleberry Finn, Treasure Island,* and *Kim* to *Catcher in the Rye* and *Lord of the Flies. Huckleberry Finn* is about the problem of identity and the growth of moral autonomy in a boy; it is therefore about boyhood. *Treasure Island* is about the imposition of adult responsibilty and the experience of evil on a boy; it is about adolescence. *Kim* is about the problem of identity and the assumption of adult responsibilities by a boy; it is about boyhood and adolescence.

Yet while Holden Caulfield is an adolescent, *The Catcher in the Rye* is not so much about his adolescence as about his maimed sanctity. And the book is about boys, but boys as symbolic of the moral fragility of all men. Salinger and Golding have enjoyed enormous vogue among adolescents and these books—and others like them—can serve somewhat as Rorschach blots on which the adolescent readers project concerns which may or may not be central to the author's work. In the lists mentioned there were hundreds of books which can help boys and girls experiment internally with their many possible future selves, which can help them see their emotions rationally, which can make the transition from childhood to adulthood a purposeful transition rather than a long scuffing and dragging of heels.

The National Council of Teachers of English conducted a survey of almost 2600 recently graduated and very superior high school students over a three-year period earlier in this decade in an attempt to determine the impact of books on them. The Council asked them to name the most significant book read and to give reasons for the significance. The results showed that a great variety of books are significant to superior English students but over 72 percent of the responses listed were novels and when titles were examined 56 percent of them were novels about adolescence. Significantly, at the head of the forty books listed by frequency was *The Catcher in the Rye;* in fifth place was *Look Homeward, Angel.* The two major reasons cited for the books' significance were that the content—usually the philosophy or ideas expressed—were instrumental in shaping the reader's attitudes, values, or thoughts, and that a characterization led the reader to identify with a person in the book. The suggestion to be made is obvious. Our English reading programs will have to become something better than the mishmashes they so often are, in which reluctant children drudge confusedly from *Macbeth* to *The Red Pony* to *A Dissertation on Roast Pig* with no appetite for meaning.

In a study of American novels about adolescence, Helen White Childers found there were four large groups into which novels fall: adolescent life histories ending in more or less successful initiation into adulthood, in which works depicting the artist as adolescent constitute a subdivision; sociological studies portraying victims of social forces; psychological studies of adolescents who fail in the initiation; and novels in which the adolescent is a technical device. Minor types were found to be episodic reminiscences, "formula novels," and idylls.

She also found fresh psychological approaches to adolescent problems being made, many handling the subject with new frankness. The use of psychoanalytical material, incorporated with increasing skill, has steadily broadened and deepened. The tendency has been toward deeper exploration of shadowy and unusual aspects of adolescence, limitation of subject matter, and concentration upon phenomena particularly relevant to adolescence. The earlier broadly based realistic or naturalistic novels depicted the adolescent's period of discovery. Treating adolescents as particular individuals, they recounted their struggles in the broad social world of adults. They stressed the later years, and usually ended with the character's maturity.

In the carefully structured, limited, symbolic novels now favored by critics, the adolescent, often a very young symbolic character, is used as a technical device enabling the author to convey an intense impression of the nature of maturity. The novels are concerned with the timeless and universal, with innocence and the meaning of its loss. Authors have found in the adolescent, because of his nature and the advantages he offers as a method of control, an increasingly useful means of presenting their vision. The fictional adolescent has undergone changes reflecting the nature of the times, and has been an arresting and appropriate figure in the literature of a nation in a period of transition, during a time of world-wide unrest, and violent, rapid change.

Teachers of literature, unlike literary scholars, are greatly concerned with the reader's response to literature. In the case of children and adolescents, this response is often crude and immature. Furthermore, teachers are not concerned only with the best, the most qualified of our readers. Certainly no one can fail to notice the sheer physical presence of the adolescent in our world, or fail to meet some of the current problems he has generated. Nor can we fail to recognize in the sad angry youths who populate American fiction a striking literary manifestation rife with extra-literary import. The cult of adolescence is not an accident of our time. Quite the contrary. Its history reverts to some of the most basic impulses in American experience. Behind it lies what we used to call the American Dream, the vision of youth, hope, and the open road. It is a vision that has given American literature its distinctive force and has left on the American character an indelible impression. The changes which have overtaken this vision are clearly reflected in the mirror of adolescence.

Yet adolescence is not only a mirror of the past. It also commands a present and future interest. Teachers should remember that literature is the quick, full response to reality, that literature is also a *formal* response, and that it discovers the modes which make reality available. The idea of adolescence in literature is one of these modes. It is both form and vision, a complex symbol of the felt contradictions which history imposed on the American tradition of innocence. We are also supremely conscious of youth and have developed our consciousness of it into a strict ceremonial of which the mandarins are our swaddling clothes. Next to failure, age has come to be considered the most reprehensible condition in our society. That the cult of youth should extend its influence to our artistic forms was to be expected. Van Wyck Brooks once defended American literature against the charge that it was a literature of boys. But recognizing its energy, he also questioned the adolescent intentions of so much that was vital in it. He deplored the fact that vitality in our past was often rudderless, that our civilization, like our literature, was always beginning anew, always arrested at adolescence.

Our writers, perhaps looking back at their own boyhood, write as if the adolescent knew the answer to the question of what went wrong with our American Dream. And perhaps they are right. The adolescent is no longer simple or ignorant, since Innocence has come to be rejected in favor of Experience. But the experience was not the raw, visionary experience of the frontier. More often it was both violent and introspective. Therefore, the idea of adolescence was itself born at that moment which witnessed the modification of the notion of innocence by the fact of guilt. It is perhaps not altogether an accident that the cult of adolescence developed on the crest of that second cycle of American literature, beginning with Twain, and characterized by someone as one of "vast adjustment to a new set of conditions." The bolder among the writers have made some effort to reinstate the American idea of adolescent initiation as a process leading to adult participation, leading to knowledge, sacrifices, and responsibility. Of these qualities Sonia Marburg in *Boston Adventure* is a promising example. And even when initiation fails, as it does in the case of Salinger's Holden Caulfield, the occasion of failure may be discovered in a tortured awareness of reality rather than in any absence of it.

Thus the dialectic of innocence and experience in the idea of adolescence comes to a momentary pause, its future hanging on the forms of reality American writers will choose to give to their temporal experience and their timeless ideals. The teacher is in a position to help the real adolescent in the classroom as that youngster encounters the dream of innocence and the fact of guilt, in the only part of the universe where the reality of that conflict can still be recognized. The study of the components of education—the child and the teacher—as well as current educational problems, through the examination of contemporary fictional literature, represents a real contribution toward humanizing teacher education in this day of increased emphasis on educational technology.

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5

Youth Education: A Curricular Perspective

GERALD R. FIRTH

RECENT changes, modifications, and revisions in school programs identified as the curriculum reform movement have concluded one phase and are now accelerating into another. The dialogue between scholars in academic disciplines and selected secondary school teachers has produced a number of "new curricula." The initiative given to institutions of higher education to retrain teachers in the new programs has been shifted directly to public school personnel. The second stage of curricular innovation now under way is supported by substantial federal funding.

Few would contest the allegation that the curriculum provided by the school is a central factor in the education of youth. Beyond that point, however, opinion varies. Some authorities would contend that the school community, student population, professional staff, teaching procedures, instructional materials, and/or administrative organization also exert significant influences.

Disagreements regarding the nature of curriculum are legion even though the word is among those most frequently used in American education. Increasingly it has become a part of the common vocabulary of the general public. Unfortunately, the word *curriculum* is often utilized with varied meanings even among those who ostensibly are quite familiar with school operations.

The current movement for change in school curriculum has involved specialists in subject fields, philanthropic foundations, lay groups, social reformers, government agencies, psychologists, and medical personnel. It is extremely doubtful that this widespread popular interest in program innovation has been advantageous to the adolescent student served by American secondary education.

With increasing vitality in program innovation, has come also greater confusion. Among the weaknesses of the new approach to program planning are the following: imbalance of available offerings resulting from more appropriate application of the program to some disciplines than to others; narrow emphasis on specific subject fields which tends to separate these fields from each other; placement of content of excessive quantity and complexity at earlier levels in the program; deliberate disregard of relationships a particular discipline may have for the needs of society; irrelevance of content for a large segment of the student population; and reliance upon assumptions and testimonials rather than experimental study.[1]

Frequently, attempts at collaboration among special fields has become a monologue on the part of the academic scholars, many of whom have possessed little knowledge of the characteristics of the learner, the learning process, and the strategies of instruction.

While some of the problems arise from the nature of the change movement itself, others come from the manner of application. Commenting on the latter, Wann has warned against the lack of coherence in curriculum reform, emphasis on speed of change, and imposition of new programs on existing patterns of school organization.[2] "It is when reforms fit together that real progress is made. It is when they do not fit, and unfortunately many do not, that we grow concerned about the impact of a patchwork curriculum upon learners."[3]

Nor is the situation likely to improve under the existing procedures. Indeed, Wann's prognosis is that the conditions will be intensified as each of the various groups advocating reforms seeks implementation of a particular change without regard for other proposals. Under the continuing influence of such tactics, "the curriculum as developed in American schools can become an even more hopeless hodgepodge of diverse goals and procedures than it now is."[4]

The purpose of this chapter is to establish a frame of reference for consideration of the content and activities with which the adolescent deals. A perspective on curriculum requires analysis of at least four topics—its nature, the purposes it serves, the elements that it contains, and the manner in which it is structured. Each of these topics is reviewed as definitions, directions, dimensions, and designs. The final section seeks a synthesis and offers alternative proposals for a systematic curriculum.

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[1] Sidney Sulkin. "Introduction." *The Challenge of Curriculum Change.* New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1966. pp. xv–xvii.

[2] Kenneth D. Wann. "The Curriculum Field Today." In: *Precedents and Promise in the Curriculum Field.* Helen F. Robison, editor. New York: Teachers College Press, 1966. pp. 13-14. © 1966, Teachers College, Columbia University. Used by permission.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 13.

[4] *Loc. cit.*

Definitions

The word curriculum has had many connotations in American education over the years. Although translated from the Latin to mean literally "course of study," a number of variations have occurred. In general, these interpretations have ranged from provisions made by the school to products of learning for individual students. As Douglass distinguishes between them, "the curriculum from the school's point of view is the environment for learning that it provides for its pupils. The curriculum from the pupil's point of view is the experiences he has in response to his perception of the environment provided." [5]

Even among the advocates of the former concept, there is considerable difference of opinion. According to Saylor and Alexander: "The school curriculum is the total effort of the school to bring about desired outcomes in school and in out-of-school situations. In short, the curriculum is the school's program for learners." [6] Yet, curriculum has been used to describe all the courses in a particular field, a group of related courses, a sequence of courses, the courses at a particular grade level, and the total school program, including classroom studies as well as student activities.

In another sense, the curriculum has been conceived of as including the learning opportunities that are actually selected by the student. In the 1930's, Caswell and Campbell coined the classic definition of curriculum as all the experiences that a student has under the guidance of the school.[7] Later, L. Thomas Hopkins sharply contrasted this curriculum "that is," which constitutes the experiences of an individual, with the curriculum "that was," which constitutes the courses offered in the school.[8]

Considerable effort has been devoted to reconciling, at least for operational purposes, these two extremes. Douglass and Hobson attempt to establish common ground in the following: Since experience resides only in the organism itself, and since only experience educates, the student's curriculum—his interaction with his environment—determines what he learns. The school, then, attempts to provide the activities that will create the environment in which the student's reactions reflect the learnings that the school desires.

[5] Harl R. Douglass and Cloy S. Hobson. "The Function and Nature of the Curriculum." In: *The High School Curriculum*. Third edition. Harl R. Douglass, editor. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1964. p. 23. Copyright © 1964 by The Ronald Press Company.

[6] J. Galen Saylor and William M. Alexander. *Curriculum Planning for Better Teaching and Learning*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1954. p. 4.

[7] Hollis L. Caswell and Doak S. Campbell. *Curriculum Development*. New York: American Book Co., 1935. p. 69.

[8] L. Thomas Hopkins. *Interaction: The Democratic Process*. Boston: D. C. Heath & Company. 1941. pp. 17-52.

This concept of curriculum is fundamentally opposed to the belief of many teachers, if their practice is indicative of their beliefs, that the mastery of school subjects will *per se* produce the desired learnings. The school subjects are indeed an important element in the student's educative environment, but their mastery alone is not necessarily educative.[9]

In this view the commonly used definition of curriculum as all of the student's experiences under the direction of the school that contribute to his growth is technically correct. However, since the school cannot control the student's experiences except as it stimulates them through the environment it provides, the emphasis should be on the nature of the school's activities for providing stimulating experiences appropriate to the desired learnings. Accepting the fact that experiences are not subject to control by the school, the curriculum has generally been taken to be all the activities which the school provides for the education of youth.

The concept of curriculum as the subject matter or content that is to be utilized in instruction lies somewhere between the two extremes. Many would share Briggs' belief that this is so accurate a barometer "that the history of education is written in terms of these changes in subject matter."[10]

A number of individuals, including Beauchamp,[11] Eisner,[12] Huebner,[13] Macdonald,[14] Maccia,[15] and Faix[16] have recently sought to establish theoretically the meets and bounds of curriculum in order that further study may be more effectively accomplished. That there is little substantial agreement in this regard is indicated by the following examples. Taba maintains that a decision regarding curriculum requires consideration of at least five factors—objectives, content, methods, materials and

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[9] Harl R. Douglass and Cloy S. Hobson, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[10] Thomas H. Briggs. *Curriculum Problems*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1926. p. 1.

[11] George A. Beauchamp. *Curriculum Theory*. Wilmette, Illinois: The Kagg Press, 1961.

[12] Elliot W. Eisner. "Differentiation of Instruction, Teaching and Learning." *The Elementary School Journal* 22 (3): 115-19; December 1964.

[13] Dwayne Huebner. "Curriculum as a Field of Study." *Precedents and Promise in the Curriculum Field*. Helen F. Robison, editor. New York: Teachers College Press, 1966. pp. 94-112. © 1966, Teachers College, Columbia University. Used by permission.

[14] James B. Macdonald. "Curriculum Theory: Problems and a Prospectus." Address at the annual meeting of Professors of Curriculum, April 1964.

[15] Elizabeth S. Maccia. *The Conceptions of Model in Educational Theorizing*. Occasional Paper, publication no. 62-114. Columbus, Ohio: Bureau of Educational Research and Service, The Ohio State University, 1962.

[16] Thomas L. Faix. "Structural-Functional Analysis as a Conceptual System for Curriculum Theory and Research: A Theoretical Study." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1965.

resources, and evaluation.[17] At the 1966 Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association in Chicago, Gagné stated that the curriculum consisted of the sequential units leading to predetermined objectives. Gagné asserted that once the objectives had been decided, the only remaining process was to determine the manner in which such behavior can be induced in the learner.[18] By contrast, another session discussed the selection of learning experiences to fulfill specific objectives as an inhibiting influence on curriculum.[19] Macdonald also takes exception to the Tyler model which "assumes the psychological knowledge of the individual in relation to his objective performance in the classroom. In so doing, it violates the integrity of a person by segmenting his behavior and manipulating him for an end beyond his immediate experiencing in the curriculum."[20] A moral question is thus raised for careful study, contends Macdonald.

Much of the existing disparity regarding the nature of curriculum has resulted from articles in both professional and popular publications which have confused curriculum innovation with changes in the instruments of instruction—staff personnel, methods and media, materials and resources, and space and facilities—or in the systems of administration—diagnosis of student characteristics, grouping procedures, scheduling patterns, and evaluative devices. Many of the most heralded reforms in the field of curriculum actually are more instructional or administrative in character.

Wann notes that changes in organization and in curriculum have not been made together.

> The proposals of the late 1950's for team teaching, ungraded schools, and homogeneous grouping of pupils were made with little concern for the necessary concomitant changes in content and methodology, whereas today, we consider changes in content with little concern for the changes necessary in organization.[21]

Macdonald distinguishes curriculum from instruction, teaching, and learning by defining curriculum as the planned endeavors which precede instruction and represent the major source of stimuli found in instructional settings to be utilized systematically.[22] To Macdonald, a curriculum is best conceived as a contrived environment directing influence upon individuals in a school.

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[17] Hilda Taba. *Curriculum Development—Theory and Practice.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1962. p. 10.

[18] Robert M. Gagné. "Curriculum Development and the Promotion of Learning." Address at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, February 1966.

[19] Bruce R. Joyce. "The Learning Experience as a Restrictive Concept: The Production of Alternatives"; and Elliot W. Eisner. "Educational Objectives: Help or Hindrance." Presentations at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, February 1966.

[20] James B. Macdonald. "The Person in the Curriculum." In *Precedents and Promise in the Curriculum Field.* Helen F. Robison, editor. New York: Teachers College Press, 1966. p. 41. © 1966, Teachers College, Columbia University. Used by permission.

[21] Wann, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

In examining current views on curriculum, Goodlad determined that it is a design or plan of institutionalized education. It consists of the actual learning experiences provided through data and context in which they occur. It has as its purpose the changing or modification of the students as a result of the experiences they have from engaging in these activities.[23] For purposes of further consideration, then, curriculum is assumed to be content (data, concepts, and/or modes of inquiry) and the vehicles by which it is contained for student confrontation and interaction. These are the elements which Downey identifies as the "substantive dimension" of the secondary phase of education, as opposed to the behavioral or environmental phases.[24]

The components of the curriculum consist of the structure and design of these activities, both the content and the situations. These include the basic divisions by which material is organized (courses, sequences, units, themes, and lessons), the level in the school at which it is placed, the amount at a particular level, the order in which data typically are to be studied, provisions in the material for differences among individual students, and activities which are appropriate for common or general education of all students and those which apply only to individuals for specialized education.

The changing emphasis in the latter can be seen by the steady movement of content previously taught in the high school downward into the junior high school level. The election of a foreign language has in many instances allowed students to avoid activities originally intended to provide exploratory experiences for early adolescents. At a time when more students are remaining in high school and the concept of general education is being extended through the junior or community college, another conflicting trend in curriculum is toward more specialization in the intermediate grades. Whereas additional science would appear essential to equip an individual to live in the modern world, the addition of new curricula such as the Physical Science Study Committee (PSSC) physics course has caused a reduction in the number of students involved in physics classes. As one individual has suggested, the millennium will be reached when all schools offer the course and no students take it.

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[22] Macdonald, *op. cit.*, "Curriculum Theory, Problems and a Prospectus," p. 4.

[23] John I. Goodlad. "Curriculum: The State of the Field." *Review of Educational Research* 30 (3): 185; June 1960.

[24] Lawrence W. Downey. *The Secondary Phase of Education*. New York: Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1965, p. 191.

The recent changes in secondary curriculum have tended to focus more directly on the courses. In fact, the reform movement has been viewed as the development of particular segments of the program in a subject field. At the secondary level, there is typically little relationship among courses developed even within the same subject area.

If youth is to be educated, the curriculum must be structured in such a way that the appropriate aspects of content can be utilized most effectively in the development of opportunities for desired experiences.

Directions

Despite conflicting opinions regarding its nature, the purposes to be served by curriculum have been consistent through the years. A detailed analysis of educational philosophies reveals that the differences among them emanate from beliefs regarding knowledge, psychological factors, and social reality.[25] The importance attributed to each of these elements to a considerable degree shapes the thrust of the school program.

There has been little doubt that the curriculum is intended to serve the education of youth in three major ways. First, it should enable the student to understand his own personal characteristics. He must understand his assets and his liabilities, learning to plan his life realistically in terms of both. Second, the curriculum should enable the student to establish appropriate social relationships. He must be able to work out situations with others within and outside the school. Third, the curriculum must equip the student with the tools required to learn in diverse ways and in different fields. He must be able to do so for the rest of his life in order to maintain congruence with an evolving fund of knowledge.

While they have been stated in many ways, the basic concepts of self-development, social functionalism, and continuous learning have long been accepted as curricular bulwarks.

That meaningful relationships must, can, and do indeed exist among components of the curriculum is obvious from the fact that the program of the school purports to help the student learn to live with the very same forces which initiated the reform movement. The three characteristics of the time are the prodigious growth of population, the tremendous social changes, and the rapid advance of knowledge.

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[25] John P. Wynne. *Theories of Education*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1963.

Hopkins stated many years ago that there were only three elements with which the school can deal—the learner as a person, the environment in which he exists, and the process by which he learns about the two.

A more recent pronouncement in a similar vein was that of Gyorgy Kepes that:

> First of all we must build bridges between man and nature—construct a physical environment which is on a truly twentieth century standard. Second, we must build bridges between man and man—create a new scale of social structure built from progressive common purposes. We must establish a sense of belonging, of interdependence, in order to achieve the teamwork that the first task demands. And, finally, we have to build bridges inside ourselves. Only if each individual can unify himself so that one aspect of his life will not intercept and cancel another, can he hope to tackle the second task efficiently.[26]

Almost without exception, writers on the curriculum have identified its purposes in developing to the fullest the potentialities of an individual and in maximizing the contribution each person will make to his society.

The aim of self-development appeared in the statement of educational goals by Bobbitt in 1918 and has been repeated in numerous variations ever since. In their classic work on curriculum, Caswell and Campbell stated that "the school program in a democracy must give major attention to the development of the capacities of each individual."[27] Combs indicates the need for "self-starting, self-directing citizens capable of independent action"[28] through humanizing the schools. Bishop states "the task of the school is to help each individual develop a concept of and a role for self, and to facilitate a continuing enculturation; it is to enable each learner to make individual sense out of the universe of stimuli."[29] A final test of the curriculum is based on this criterion: "As he moves through the curriculum, how much does each child find that helps him understand himself and build a valid concept of what he is or can be?"[30]

A second major responsibility of the school is its contribution to the direction of social development. In some instances, this social functionalism has focused primarily on the peer society. In others, it has embraced the demands of the broader social milieu, including vocational competence.

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[26] Gyorgy Kepes. "Where Is Science Taking Us?" *Saturday Review* 49 (10): 66-67; March 5, 1966.

[27] Hollis L. Caswell and Doak S. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[28] Arthur W. Combs. "Fostering Self-Development." *Educational Leadership* 24 (5): 373; February 1966.

[29] Leslee Bishop. "Senior High School: To What Ends?" *Educational Leadership* 24 (4): 268; January 1966.

[30] Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. *A Climate for Individuality*. Washington, D.C.: the Association, 1965. p. 39.

This concept may be inclusive of human relationships, economic efficiency, and civic responsibility identified as purposes of American education.[21]

The concept of the school as a setting for social experimentation was described by Havighurst, Prescott, and Redl:

> The classroom is more for the adolescent than a place for academic learning or a place in which to dump otherwise inexpressible problems of home and parent adjustment. It is also a realistic frame for experimentation in new social and interpersonal relationships. Thus, adolescents will at times be absorbed in considering their classroom life as a chance to learn how to win leadership, what prices to pay and what prices are too high for popularity, how to build up social influence and how to undermine that of others. They will experiment in the art of making friends and of alienating people—sometimes just in order to find out what happens. They will try out what it is like to fit in as well as to obstruct.[22]

While it often has been acknowledged that the school is not the only contributor to the education of youth, many have insisted that the curriculum should be sufficient to serve all young people in the development of learning skills. Each individual must have the capabilities for continuing his own education without the formal guidance of the school. Broudy, Smith, and Burnett consider the content and the logical operations found in behavior to compose the two strands of the curriculum itself:

> Logical operations constitute the rational means by which the individual manipulates content. The intellectual quality of his behavior is dependent not only upon the accuracy of the content which he employs, but also upon the skill with which he performs the various logical operations by which he handles the concept itself. . . . If the curriculum is to be made more adequate from an intellectual standpoint, it is necessary that the logical operations possible for the individual, at each stage, be identified and adequately catered to by instruction. This also means that content should be properly selected, with emphasis upon more important elements of it, for the purpose of highlighting operational excellence.[23]

In recent years, the impact of technology has emphasized the need for reeducation. The all-pervasive promises—and threats—of automation and cybernetics profoundly affect ways of learning as well as ways of working and living. Improvement and revision of learning skills will become increasingly a part of each individual's pattern of development as education, always incomplete, now tends toward obsolescence more rapidly. Many of the programs of the school gear the content to an understanding of the constant pursuit of education throughout an elongated life span. Far too infrequently, however, do these programs focus upon the essential tools and the attitudes required to sustain their application. The curriculum must provide each individual with the logical operations to continue this quest in school, at work, at home, and at conveniently located community centers such as libraries.

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[21] Educational Policies Commission. *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1938. p. 72.

[22] Robert J. Havighurst, Daniel A. Prescott, and Fritz Redl. "Scientific Study of Developing Boys and Girls Has Set Up Guideposts." In: *General Education in the American High School*. Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Company, 1942. p. 116.

[23] Harry S. Broudy, Othanel B. Smith, and Joe R. Burnett. *Democracy and Excellence in American Secondary Education*. Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1964. p. 102.

Obviously, these three aspects are interrelated. They are considered separately for convenience in this discussion. In practice, they are inextricably interwoven.

In their 1966 revision, Saylor and Alexander state that:

> The schools, as one of our principal social instrumentalities, must and do embody in their policies, structures, programs and practices this fundamental concern for the development of the individual. Education is the best process for preserving and extending the worth and dignity of the individual. The establishment of schools is society's principal method of enhancing the status of each individual in all his potentialities.
>
> It is obvious that the individual must achieve his potentialities in a social group; hence, by emphasizing the importance of the individual in the American culture, we are not minimizing the importance of a person's social relationships nor his obligation to contribute to the attainment of perfectibility by other members of society.[illegible]

It would appear then that general agreement exists regarding the three major functions of the curriculum to assist youth in their total education. These will be development of their personal qualities to maximize strengths and minimize weaknesses, development of abilities to cooperate with other members of society, and development of skills by which to continue learning.

The curriculum should be viewed as a setting in which individual students continually test their progress in self-development. It should offer an identification through close association with adult models in teachers and peer models in fellow students. The student must be prepared for life in a world of uncertainty and anxiety by repeated adjustment to new and different situations in a controlled laboratory situation.

The curriculum, then, should be considered as a setting for youth to learn cooperative action with others. Students must be confronted with life in a situation where they must interact with adults and peers in solving problems. The curriculum will operate in a type of intermediate

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[illegible] J. Galen Saylor and William M. Alexander. *Curriculum Planning for Modern Schools.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1966. p. 47.

society between home and adult life to assist a student in changing his perception of his place in the world, the effects of urban and suburban living, the implications of group membership, and the preservation of individuality under pressure toward conformity.

The curriculum also should be viewed as a setting in which youth learn to use resources and services as aids to self-directed learning. The students must become skilled in how to learn and to resolve contradictions in knowledge in order that they may continue to educate themselves at the end of formal school attendance.

The need is for a new synthesis of the curriculum which provides a setting for self-development, for societal relationships, and for self-directed learning. As Miel describes the situation, "the curriculum must consider the individual in a society and in the midst of knowledge."[38]

Dimensions

Over the years there have been several attempts to provide opportunities in the secondary school curriculum for each of the three objectives previously described. The basic issue is whether the curriculum of the American secondary school is to remain a random collection of teacher-mediated activities or whether it is to be systematized in some manner for the student to assume increasing responsibility for his own learning.

Within certain academic subjects, concern previously has been devoted to individual development. Science has included knowledge of man as a biological organism. Thematic units on self have been included in high school English courses. Specialized areas such as art and physical education came into the program as aids to the personal aspects of education. According to Saylor and Alexander:

> Certain phases of the curriculum are deliberately planned to achieve the aim of personal development. These include health, creative expression in art and music courses, elective courses, extracurricular activities, and guidance counseling.[39]

The experimental programs, particularly the core curriculum, devoted some attention to adolescent problems. In those few cases where the experience or activity curricula were utilized, the personal needs of students provided the bases for the programs. The current trends in curricula show little evidence of that concern. The subject-centered approach is aimed toward the disciplines with little or no concern for the individual. The fine arts and aesthetics are seeking a new rise after losing ground to the academic areas. The student activity programs remain, and, unfortunately, some schools place sole reliance on this phase of the program for the fostering of self-direction.

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[38] Alice Miel. "Reassessment of the Curriculum—Why?" In: *A Reassessment of the Curriculum*. Dwayne Huebner, editor. New York: Teachers College Press, 1964. p. 23 © 1964, Teachers College, Columbia University. Used by permission.

[39] J. Galen Saylor and William M. Alexander. *Curriculum Planning for Better Teaching and Learning*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1954. pp. 16-17.

There is substantial evidence that the curriculum variations have not proved successful for self-development. Self-concept apparently is not changed significantly in or by the school, although guidance counseling and/or psychological therapy may be of some assistance. The accuracy of tests administered at the early elementary grades in predicting success at the secondary level indicates that diversified programs have little effect.[27] Moreover, only slight variance exists in growth curves of students and a break occurs at puberty.[28] Perhaps nothing is being done that really makes a difference. Institutional culture and values appear to be more important than content and situations of school programs in changing individuals.[29]

In the past, the academic subjects also have made provisions for the society component of the curriculum. These have largely focused on the consideration of the problems of man within the social studies and, to a lesser degree, on the utilization of current literature in the field of English. The specialized areas of industrial arts, home economics, and business education have been motivated largely on their contribution to preparation for the world of work. Several curriculum areas are largely or entirely devoted to the development of understandings about society, social problems, and social relationships. These include the social studies, science, recreation, and work preparation.[30]

The core curriculum focused directly on the problems of students [illegible] American democratic society. The topics studied often were drawn from the immediate environment.

The current attempt to consider the impact of societal change is by modernizing the curricular content with concepts from social sciences other than history. The same general concern is evidenced in the specialized areas, such as business, home economics, and industrial arts.

The curriculum as the setting for an intermediate society must take account of the fact that the high school no longer makes the difference in life careers that it did some years ago; the level of effect has moved upward to the college level because activities which become common to all are less predictable as bases for differentiation.[41] Assessment must be made on indices over a career rather than on measures of success soon after graduation. The curriculum must make a perceptual difference in the totality of life rather than in narrow categories. In an attempt to determine such a relationship, Willis found:

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[27] Virginia Svagr. "The Value of Perception Gestalt Tests in the Prediction of Reading Achievement at Various Grade Levels." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Wayne State University, 1965.

[28] Willard C. Olson. *Psychological Foundations of the Curriculum*. Paris, France: UNESCO, 1957.

[29] Philip Jacob. *Changing Values in College*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1957.

[30] Saylor and Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

> . . . convincing evidence that the values to which the school is committed can be made operational in the lives of most students through appropriate experiences and techniques in the curriculum. Students seem to learn these values through the process of valuing in experiences that are significant to them, rather than by indoctrination. The success of this type of education appears to be closely related to healthy personalities—people who know themselves, accept themselves, find learning significant, and can work with others.[42]

Much less has been accomplished in the past to utilize the curriculum as a laboratory for learning the skills of continuous education. Most efforts have consisted of modifications in instructional procedures rather than in curriculum. "Independent study plans where students may investigate a problem without class attendance, but under the guidance of one or more staff members, are one arrangement intended to encourage and develop self-direction."[43] Other provisions are in the administrative systems:

> No-schedule days on which students are free to pursue their studies, using classrooms or laboratories as needed, are another plan with a similar goal. . . . In addition to these positive steps, many schools are removing some of the atypical incentives which have been part of a system that stifled self-direction. Certain types of marks, honors, and awards are being replaced gradually by more funda-

Those who regard the curriculum as a setting for resources and services to assist learning must consider such evidence as that provided in the research of Suchman, which indicates that children stop asking questions at about grade four.[45] Large classes reduce the opportunities for the members of a group to probe issues. There is peer restraint on discussion and student apathy exists. Small adjustments in the school program do not make sustaining improvement over an extended period. A high degree of success in one subject or activity will cause an individual to accept other less rewarding factors, but success experience must be involved.

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[41] Paul Heist and Harold Webster. "A Research Orientation to Selection, Admission and Differential Education." In: *Research on College Students.* Hall T. Sprague, editor. Boulder, Colorado: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1960. pp. 21-40.

[42] Margaret Willis. *The Guinea Pigs After Twenty Years: A Follow-up Study of the Class of 1938 of the University School at Ohio State.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1961. p. 286.

[43] Gordon N. Mackenzie. "Emerging Curriculums Show New Conceptions of Secondary Education." In: *General Education in the American High School.* Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Company, 1942. p. 86.

[44] *Loc. cit.*

[45] J. Richard Suchman. "Inquiry Training in the Elementary School." *Science Teacher* 18 (2): 42-47; November 1960.

The current academic emphasis on the structure of knowledge and the particular modes of inquiry within the disciplines is aimed directly at providing a student with sufficient skills to produce new data in each particular field. It is assumed that experience in the study as done by a professional will equip him to pursue these fields in the future as subsequent changes occur. The same types of concerns are slowly being included in the specialized courses.

Despite the Phenix thesis "that all curriculum content should be drawn from the disciplines, or put another way, that only knowledge contained in the disciplines is appropriate to the classroom,"[46] it is doubtful that knowledge alone will do the job. Certainly, youth should have opportunity to study more about himself as a learner and about the process of learning.

Yet, to Shaftel, "perhaps the most crucial curricular task is that of focusing upon and working with the value structures in which children and youth are caught up in our society. . . . Such values are not achieved in a curriculum that is focused primarily on cognitive, intellectual learning."[47]

Again, if the curriculum is intended to help each individual to the full assumption of his power, it must enable him to establish a more comfortable relationship with himself and with his environment.

> There is abundant evidence that with self-insight comes increasing self-acceptance. With self-insight and self-acceptance, the evidence shows, come understanding and acceptance of others. Once we have faced the best and worst within ourselves, we can appreciate the best and sympathize with the worst in others. We can take the world as it is, strive to improve it, and as mature persons live harmoniously with that which neither we nor society seem able to change. Self-understanding is the objective—but paralleling it and necessary to it are depth of understanding, sensitivity to environment and people, values, appreciations, and a multitude of cultural, technical, and social skills developed within the limitations of each child.[48]

[46] Philip H. Phenix. "The Disciplines as Curriculum Content." In: *Curriculum Crossroads.* A. Harry Passow, editor. New York: Teachers College Press, 1962. p. 57. © 1962, Teachers College, Columbia University. Used by permission.

[47] Fannie Shaftel. "Values in a World of Many Cultures." *Educational Leadership* 19 (8): 492; May 1961.

[48] *A Climate for Individuality, op. cit.*, p. 28.

As Macdonald asserts,

> . . . the crucial subject matter problems in selecting a curriculum and influencing persons within this environment are the problems of relating one aspect of culture to another and relating subject matter to the personal knowledge of the student. The present curriculum activity which updates or reconceptualizes the separate structures of culture is highly desirable but it is essentially a necessary "given" for struggling with the central issues, the problems of relationship.[illegible]

Nor did the various approaches to society-centered curricula meet the challenge adequately.

> Giving students an opportunity to grapple with broad social and cultural problems was basically a promising innovation but at the same time one is forced to recognize that problem solving on such a broad base cannot be pursued successfully without growing understanding of the fields of knowledge from which the problem solver must draw.[illegible]

Moreover, the programs have given greater attention to social problems, such as political issues, economic influences, dropouts and delinquency. Much less concern has been devoted to such social realities as racial and ethnic differences, religion, socioeconomic class, family, or even the peer culture itself.

The concept of the school as a learning laboratory has received some attention recently and will undoubtedly become increasingly popular in the future. While the student must learn to reeducate himself in a complex and changing world, he also will have increasingly sophisticated equipment to aid him. Technological systems offer an opportunity for individuals to advance their skills in and knowledge of the learning process. Wires can bring

> . . . from a central learning resources facility, programmed material, live [illegible] vision and radio—all selected at will by the student or available to him on a predetermined schedule. Devices are even being developed to give ready access to printed materials at remote locations. From the (study) space, the student's responses can be fed in a variety of forms—audio-visual, electronic, punched card—to the central facility for analysis, evaluation, and recording or to a teacher for response.[illegible]

The independent study program at the University of Chicago Labo-

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[illegible] Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[illegible] Arno Bellack. "The Structure of Knowledge and the Structure of the Curriculum." In: *A Reassessment of the Curriculum*. Dwayne Huebner, editor. New York: Teachers College Press, 1964. p. 37. © 1964, Teacher's College, Columbia University. Used by permission.

[illegible] Norman D. Kurland. "Stay-at-Home Classrooms for Space-Age Adults." In: *Automation, Education and Human Values*. William W. Brickman and Stanley Lehrer, editors. New York: School and Society Books, 1966. pp. 237-38.

ratory High School and the Learning Laboratory Project in Winnetka are examples of environments which are geared to instruction. However, it is already clear that the curriculum implications of such operations also must receive attention.

> The predetermined curriculum, with specific units, concepts to be covered, learning opportunities, and group examinations all spelled out, will become obsolete. Teachers . . . will engage in the tremendously important function of helping the student open for himself the great vistas of understanding.[illegible]

Serious examination of the nature of knowledge and of its proper relationship to the school curriculum has resulted in the rapidly developing recognition that organized knowledge is a major source of the curriculum.

> Thus the nature of the intellectual disciplines and of the practical technologies demands as careful and systematic attention in curriculum development and planning as the nature of society and the learner received in the past.[illegible]

The interdependence of these factors is addressed by Foshay when he states that any educated adult must deal simultaneously throughout his life with the existence of widespread social problems and with development of scholarship within the major fields of human knowledge.

> We have to have it both ways—both problem-centered and discipline-centered, if you please—if we are to produce students, who at the same time they think, are fully aware of the intellectual processes that they themselves are using.[illegible]

If the student must learn to utilize available resources, the curriculum of the school must assist him in doing so. Perhaps the clue to the situation is a consensus on curricular purposes. The curricular phenomenon has been considered in much the same way that people have viewed electricity. It is easier to describe the functions which a curriculum is supposed to perform or the elements of which curriculum is composed rather than to deal with the nature of curriculum.

Synthesis

While some clearer interpretation of curriculum is needed to maximize progress in the education of youth, recent trends indicate that tan-

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[illegible] William Congreve. "Learning Center . . . Catalyst for Change?" *Educational Leadership* 22 (4): 247; January 1964.

[illegible] O. L. Davis. "Organized Knowledge Influencing Curriculum Decisions." *Review of Educational Research* 33 (3): 245; June 1963.

[illegible] A. W. Foshay. "Discipline-centered Curriculum." *Curriculum Crossroads.* A. Harry Passow, editor. New York: Teachers College Press, 1962. p. 71. © 1962, Teachers College, Columbia University. Used by permission.

gential and peripheral considerations can be excluded. More careful analysis may indeed bring closer agreement or congruence among the essential characteristics of curriculum. In the interim, the curriculum has a role to serve in providing youth with a laboratory for individual testing of self-development, for acting cooperatively with others in an intermediate society, and for serving as a reservoir of resources for self-directed learning.

If this is the case, the student must learn to utilize the opportunities made available to him by the curriculum. The evidence of the past is that he is often unable to do this, perhaps because he cannot fully comprehend the various aspects of the school programs, more probably because the curriculum has no discernible system. It follows, then, that the curriculum must be systematized. And the system must be deliberately taught to the student so that he can use the school program appropriately.

The key then is the systematization of the curriculum so that it makes sense to the student and can be used constructively for his own learning. This is a difficult assignment for teachers who were expected to integrate their own education. Science teachers drew from various science fields to handle the general science course; social studies teachers received preparation in all social sciences but not in social problems.

There have already been some attempts toward a systematic approach. In large measure, these have been unsuccessful on two counts. First, they have often been throttled by traditions of programs held in high esteem. The prejudice of staff, students, and parents against innovation and the aspirations of parents to obtain for their offspring elements which eluded them have contributed to this situation. Second, even more importantly, these attempts have never been explained to students. Often the school staff is not sufficiently aware of the system to explain it to them. A systematised curriculum must be understood by the students so that they may utilise it for their own development.

A system has been defined as a cohesive collection of items that are dynamically related. It is a set of components each of which may possess some degree of independence but, at the same time, is an integral part of the larger whole, together with the relationships between the components and their properties. All systems have three characteristics in common: order, variety, and control. The latter is the name for the connectiveness, the network of dynamic, functional relationships between components. This energy flow or change is obtained by means of information processing—input and output transformation.

A systematised curriculum must have a number of relationships, some of which have been considered in previous designs. It must build cumulatively, integrate knowledge in different fields, offer continuity throughout the program, achieve balance in content and procedures, and maintain economy in time, effort, and materials. Moreover, the system should lend itself to greater articulation between levels and coordination among classes than has been possible before.

To Systematize the Curriculum

There appear to be a number of possible alternatives which incorporate the issues enumerated in this analysis. Five possible ways to systematize the curriculum are as follows:

1. *The system could be based upon the structures of the respective disciplines and their relationships one to the other.* In this arrangement, the subjects would be retained much as they are, but placed at a point in the total curriculum where they appear to serve most effectively the three basic purposes of the students involved.

This would undoubtedly mean that many academic concepts might occur much later in the program than they do at present. Conversely, some other areas such as those which lean on health concerns of tobacco, alcohol, and drugs plus biological study of sex education would be placed earlier in the program.

The need of the learner to know more about himself as well as others would seem to require additional changes of existing subjects and the inclusion of others which at present do not constitute part of the available program. The case for such provision is made in the following:

> Certainly we can use the biological and social sciences to teach young people much about themselves. The study of literature is almost meaningless if it is not used to deepen understanding of self and of the general human condition. There is no reason why we should not incorporate into the social studies much more than we have of what is being brought to light about people, in psychology, social
> is not so impossible to employ with children and youth as common school practice would make it seem. In fact, the mysteries of life and life's purposes prey upon many young people. Philosophy can be used to help with the answers and the creative and performing arts are richest of all in their power to release the unique qualities of the individual. The very reason for existence of such disciplines in the curriculum is the solving of human problems; it is only narrowly conceived, formalized concepts of what knowledge is of most worth that has given low priority to much that is of great value in Western culture.*

Still another suggestion would be to add Applied Logic or Introduction to Scientific Method as a defense against conformity of reason, Applied Ethics or Introduction to Philosophy as a commitment to values.

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* *A Climate for Individuality*, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

and Applied Rhetoric or Introduction to Effective Communication as a fortress against propaganda.[illegible]

2. *The system could be based upon the individualized selection process by a student as he finds his way through the curriculum.* Rather than structuring courses in a series of steps, with instruction proceeding in a manner similar to station teaching in swimming, the curriculum in such an arrangement would have a unitized, conceptual, nongraded organization. The sequential pattern of progress through the many discrete units would be determined by the student himself. He would move at an independent rate, on his own initiative, and in his own way.

In this decision-making process, the subject concept would be retained but the purposes of the learner would be considered prerequisite to studying a particular unit. Unless an individual was able to explain or demonstrate the objectives he wished to satisfy, he would not study a unit.

Macdonald suggests such a program to allow

> . . . the existence of multiple possibilities for student choice. . . . A plurality of opportunities open to choice could be provided for students, whereby they could move freely in the context of a flexibly organised school environment. Pluralism, as used here, would imply that there would be no common set of curriculum expectations for each person. It would further imply that the development of fundamental tools for learning would be in the service of the person rather than the school system. The organisational structure (of the curriculum) would of necessity be framed loosely, and a variety of substantive areas and activities would be accessible and available at all times for as long as the student was committed to the pursuit of them.[illegible]

3. *The system could be based upon significant problem areas in society to help students fulfill their purposes by drawing upon appropriate data from the organized disciplines for their solution.* A systematic con- [illegible] fied, consistent, and comprehensive approach.

The movement to systematize the curriculum could be in the form of case studies from broad social and highly controversial issues from the culture which students must resolve. These situations could be drawn from the past or the present to provide a basis for empirically testing the consequences of value decisions. Sequence is determined by the degree of sophistication of the problems.

Perhaps such a program could be built upon the conventional subject pattern.

[illegible] Solomon Simonson. "A New Curriculum for Teen-Agers," *The Clearing House* 40 (1): 13-19; September 1965.

[illegible] Macdonald, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

Recognizing then the value in a systematic study of the fields of knowledge and the importance of developing competence in dealing with problems and issues that are broader than those of any one field, the question arises of why opportunities for both types of activities should not be included in the program for all students. One might envision a general education program that would include basic instruction in the major fields (the natural sciences, the physical sciences, mathematics, and the humanities) together with a coordinating seminar in which students deal with problems "in the round" and in which special effort is made to show the intimate relationships between the fields of study as concepts from those fields are brought to bear on these problems.[58]

4. *The system could be based upon the development of social and personal needs of the particular group of students.* In such an arrangement, conventional subject classifications would be replaced by broad categories. The content to be studied would be geared more directly to the students themselves.

The four-year (9-12) program described by Spears might provide such a configuration. This core plan included a ninth grade course in the dynamics of group life, a tenth year course in man's behavior, an eleventh grade course in American culture, and a twelfth grade course in self-direction and discovery.[59]

The four phases of Wiles' future high school would also accommodate a curriculum of this type. The Analysis Group, considered the basic element of the educational program, is intended to help each pupil discover meaning, to develop increased commitment to a set of values and viewpoints held by members of the society. Students of similar age and relatively equal intellectual ability but varied social and economic backgrounds discuss with a skilled teacher counselor any problems of ethics, social concern, out-of-school experiences, or implication of knowledge encountered in other classes. Shops, studios, and laboratories will be available for specialized activities and creative efforts. Other students will select work experiences in various industries and businesses in the community.

Special opportunities will be made available for the persons who qualify for them in terms of ability and intensity of purpose. Fundamental skills, including mathematics, foreign languages, and many scientific processes and formulas, will be taught by machines supervised by librarians and a staff of technicians. Exploration of the cultural heritage will be done in large classes with sometimes as many as 500-1000 students in a single section. Teaching will be done by television, films, or highly skilled lecturers. No provision will be made for discussion, because ideas that produce a response can be discussed in the Analysis Groups.[60]

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[58] Bellack, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[59] Harold Spears. *The High School for Today*. New York: American Book Co., 1950. pp. 107-20.

5. *The system could be based directly upon the self-organizing processes of the individual student.* In such an arrangement, the subject categories would be eliminated entirely and the operation would be based upon man as "an information-processing, organizing open energy system, in constant transaction with his environment."[61] This would focus upon the particular organism receiving stimuli from his environment and seeking to achieve orderliness.

> Schooling which utilizes the child's endeavors to structure his world contributes to competence. Schooling which either tries to impose an order when the child cannot grasp it, or presents masses of data expecting the child to order them as the adult does, may lead to mental indigestion and feelings of incompetence.[62]

Hollister indicates the

> . . . need to provide learning experiences that range over the analytic, inferential, relational, and functional methods of (ordering information) in a concerted and planful way. We perhaps should provide learning settings that not only confront the student with concrete and symbolic data but also semantic and behavioral kinds of data. Now that tests are emerging that will allow us to assess a student's conceptualization and abstraction, we should be able to create a more comprehensive coverage of the various information-encoding processes of the mind and be able to test the impact of our curricular innovations.[63]

These five possibilities for systematizing the curriculum may lie along a continuum. Goodlad indicates that the movement is under way from the subject-by-subject period of curriculum reform to the grand design. The new cycle of attention to the total curriculum will cover another fifteen years with a target date for the humanistic curriculum set for about the year 2000.[64]

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[60] Kimball Wiles. "The High School of the Future." *School and Society* 91 (2220): 32-36; January 26, 1963.

[61] Ira J. Gordon. "New Conceptions of Children's Learning and Development." In: *Learning and Mental Health in the School.* 1966 Yearbook. Walter B. Waetjen and Robert R. Leeper, editors. Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1966. p. 68.

[62] Ibid., pp. 68-69.

[63] William G. Hollister. "Preparing the Minds of the Future: Enhancing Ego Processes Through Curriculum Development." In: *Curriculum Change: Direction and Process.* Robert R. Leeper, editor. Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1966. p. 31.

[64] John I. Goodlad. "Direction and Redirection for Curriculum Change." In: *Curriculum Change: Direction and Process.* Robert R. Leeper, editor. Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1966. p. 2.

> It is in the unity of these three—the child, the society, and organized knowledge—that the future excellence in the schools will be found.[*]

In working toward a systematized curriculum, one should ask these questions:

> Will this program benefit the person as an individual by helping him to identify his assets and liabilities?
>
> Will this program help him to live better with others and cause him to make a better adjustment to the broader culture?
>
> Will this program help to equip him with the tools to carry on his education by himself after leaving the formal school environment?

As Williams asserts,

> . . . the curriculum is an operational phenomenon; it is what it does. It is adequate, utilitarian, and beneficial as it gives us increasing control of ourselves and our world; it is inadequate, ceremonial, and trivial when it does not.[*]

In a free society where each person must be at once an individual and a citizen, the challenge to the schools is enormous. It will require new concepts in the role of the teacher—as a guide, consultant, and resource, as a curriculum specialist, and as a supervisor of youth activities. It will require a revised concept of instruction with new and unique equipment for use by students. It will require a new administrative organization devoted to freeing time rather than assigning it. For all involved in the school enterprise, it will require dedication to the emancipation of the student into life.

The curriculum is a setting for self-development, a setting for an intermediate society, and a setting for resources and services to assist self-directed learning. It must indicate possible directions which the student may appropriately take in order to systematize data and situations in various ways. Only then will the curriculum be more functionally utilized by students rather than by teachers in the education of youth for the dynamic American democratic society.

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[*] A. W. Foshay. "A Modest Proposal." *Educational Leadership* 19 (8): 528; May 1961.

[*] Lloyd F. Williams. "Vocational Education in the Western World." *Phi Delta Kappan* 46 (8): 357; April 1965.

6

Youth Education: An Organizational-Methodological Perspective

DONALD HAIR

"YOU SAY that schools today don't provide adequately for individual differences of students. O.K.—we all know this is important—but to do it! How can I work with individuals when I have thirty pupils or more crowding into my classroom every period of the day? I meet at least one hundred fifty individuals every day of the week!"

So speaks a high school teacher.

And another:

"My most pressing problem? How can I prepare a good lesson for each of my classes and still do all of the paper work, accounting, supervising, and other chores expected of me?"

Students, too, are concerned.

"The worst thing about school? It's an assembly line. You get on and ride through with the herd. No chance to be yourself!"

"Responsibility? No chance to develop this in school with somebody telling you every move to make!"

And parents:

"The school has a responsibility to prepare my boy so that he can enter the college of his choice."

"I've heard of the 50-year lag in education. We don't have that much time. I want a good, up-to-date education for my children *now*. After all, I'm paying taxes to support the schools."

Parents, pupils, and teachers are concerned about the quality of education in the secondary schools today. The responsibility of schools to become increasingly effective in preparing youth for life is very real. This chapter focuses on school organization as it relates to the education of adolescents.

The *Dictionary of Education* defines organization as "the structure, framework, or arrangement within which teachers, pupils, supervisors, and others operate to carry on the activities of the school." The fundamental ills of education cannot be cured by better organization. Organization is not an end in and of itself. But thorough, flexible, creative organization can facilitate the achievement of certain ends. If we doubt this, we need only ask the principal of any secondary school about the importance of the overall schedule. The school's organization for learning and the methods employed by teachers and pupils in the learning process can affect the quality of the educational product.

A Point of View

A school can present an illusion of education or it can seriously attempt to help pupils learn how to learn. Through the years there have been outstanding secondary schools. Examples of excellent programs may be seen in selected schools around the nation today.

Too many schools, however, tout new programs which are only skin deep. The adoption by a school district of one or several versions of BSCS biology accomplishes little if the new course is taught in the same old way. Pupils learn how to learn as they are involved in laboratory experiences designed to promote understanding of basic concepts in science.

Organizational change must be supported by a thoughtful, mature rationale. The objective in a new pattern of organization is *not* to eliminate bells or to set up some large groups for instruction. The purpose is to provide a more workable way of implementing a meaningful curriculum.

Fundamental change involving the structure of the school program does not occur easily. Goodlad and Anderson, in discussing the difficulty of changing the traditional graded structure of the elementary school, have said, ". . . efficiency takes on proper meaning only in relation to the job that should be done. To recognize that something is easy does not justify our doing it."[1] Slavish adherence to outmoded patterns of organization and staff utilization in the secondary schools just because we feel more comfortable in the same old rut cannot be justified. Holding fast to a teacher dominated classroom will not produce proper pupil understanding and growth. Today's secondary school pupils are too often tightly scheduled from one class to another, told each move to make, given an opportunity only to regurgitate information presented by the teacher or textbook. There is little chance for pupils to be themselves, to build self-discipline, to develop a spirit of inquiry, to do critical thinking, or to discover for themselves; and yet lip service is given to all of these as important purposes of education.

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[1] John I. Goodlad and Robert H. Anderson. *The Nongraded Elementary School.* Revised edition. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World Inc., 1963. p. 56.

The organization of a school should not limit the kinds of educational opportunities which can be provided. The organizational plan should be determined by the program to be implemented. It should serve the needs of a carefully planned curriculum designed to help teachers provide the optimum learning for each pupil.

A provocative thought is suggested by the title of a booklet by William Caudill, *In Education the Most Important Number Is One.*[9] This idea should apply to the individual learner and to the individual teacher. Each person in the school setting should have abundant opportunities for maximum self-realization.

It is possible for superior teachers to inspire and guide pupils regardless of the schedule. Some pupils can learn in spite of the handicaps of outmoded organization and poor methodology. Our responsibility, however, is to create an environment in which all teachers are assisted by the structure to do the best job of which they are capable. Pupils must have a school organization responsive to their individual needs and the kind of teaching that promotes growth toward substantial goals.

Why Change?

The future of our way of life depends on helping each citizen to achieve his prime aims and to make his maximum contribution. The secondary school should offer a balanced education which will provide each individual student with some grasp of key insights allied to fundamental subject areas. This balance will not be the same for all pupils, but everyone graduating from the secondary school should have had appropriate opportunities for experiences in science, mathematics, language arts, social science, humanities, practical arts, and health and physical education.

While change merely for its own sake is ridiculous and better left undone, change to bring education more in tune with modern developments in methodology and new insights about learning is long overdue. If we were in this work for profit and had to compete with other businesses for the right to educate pupils, bankruptcy would have engulfed us long ago. We are not in the work for profit and it is difficult to measure the value of our product because we are dealing with people. This does not lessen our responsibility for constant and prompt revisions in our operating procedures when new ideas come to us. It is an admission of professional incompetence if we continue the practice of education today in the same way we did ten, twenty, or forty years ago.

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[9] William Wayne Caudill. *In Education the Most Important Number Is One.* Houston: Caudill, Rowlett and Scott, 1964.

Pupils learn in many different ways and at different rates, and some learn more effectively in one way than another. The topic of individual differences of pupils has always been a popular topic for discussion among educators. (So much discussion—but so little done about it!) Individual differences of teachers have not even been considered. We have an obligation to provide a kind of secondary school organization that will help to individualize instruction for pupils and we must enable teachers to function as professionals.

Taylor, writing of in-service education needs of teachers in *The California Journal of Educational Research* in November of 1961 [8] summarized the teaching problems according to frequency of mention. Three of the top five were: insufficient time to do the job, heavy clerical responsibilities, and overloaded classes.

We know that too many teachers are overloaded and as a result have very little time for careful planning of meaningful experiences for pupils. Teachers are isolated. Because of the schedule, no time exists in most schools for teachers of the same subject to plan together and to learn from each other. Clerical duties which might be performed more efficiently by other persons take too much of the teacher's day. And saddest of all, there is little opportunity for the teacher to work with individual pupils—certainly not to the point where the teacher knows each of his pupils well as a person.

The standard unit, or the Carnegie Unit, as this measure came to be known, has had great influence on the organization of the secondary school in this century. This unit served a useful purpose in its time, but it has become a real or imaginary obstacle to the improvement of the secondary school program in recent years. In some parts of the country, schools were restrained from making changes in their curriculum plan because the State Department, or the accrediting agency, held the schools to this outmoded measure. In other locales where enlightened state departments of education and progressive accrediting associations encouraged experimentation making it possible to depart from this unit of measure, many schools still used the Carnegie Unit as an excuse to do nothing.

Rather than awarding credit on the basis of how long a pupil has occupied a seat in a classroom, we should identify the skills or understandings or performances that are desired and award the credit when the pupil has achieved this level, regardless of the time spent in class.

[8] Bob L. Taylor. "The In-service Education Needs of New Teachers." *California Journal of Educational Research* 12: 222; November 1961.

Simply substituting a new plan of organization for an old one will not automatically produce better education. The teachers must be involved in the planning, must understand what the new organization will permit them to do and must have time to develop a new teaching style.

Goodlad and Anderson, in writing about the nongraded elementary school, have said,

> It should be clear by now that the nongraded plan is a system of organization and nothing more. Reorganization in and of itself will resolve only organizational problems. Nongraded structure is, therefore, no panacea for problems of curriculum and instruction. The teacher who suddenly finds himself teaching in a nongraded school will not necessarily experience any metamorphosis in his teaching. Until he understands what nongrading permits him to do, he will teach no differently than he taught before.[8]

They continue by stating that when the teacher does understand what the new organizational scheme permits him to do, new opportunities for more creative teaching in line with pupil realities will be apparent.

One of the major deficiencies in the attempt to upgrade the secondary schools is the failure to unite in marriage the best in curriculum development work (including what to teach and how to teach) with an organizational pattern that will facilitate learning. Fragmentary curriculum development projects around the nation need to be brought together, sifted and organized into a meaningful, concept-oriented curriculum. This articulated curriculum should then be placed in a setting which provides flexibility and opportunity for teachers and learners to function effectively.

Jerome Bruner, in the introduction to Frank Brown's book on the appropriate placement school, had this to say:

> I find one special lesson in Frank Brown's book. Many of the best curriculum projects have rested their case on the importance of inquiry, structure, discovery, and independent thinking. Drop a bright new curriculum into a dull school atmosphere, and its glint can be quickly tarnished. The nongraded school is one that has changed the atmosphere of learning to conform to the spirit of the new curricula—from keys to the library to report cards that are your own to dispose of. Inventions have a way of cultivating support. The multiphased ungraded school is one that supports the inventive new work on curricula going on around the country.[9]

Which comes first—the chicken, or the egg? Should new organizational plans be implemented in order to make possible better education, or should organizational change come about only when demanded by improved teaching and better methods of working with pupils?

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[8] John I. Goodlad and Robert H. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[9] B. Frank Brown. *The Appropriate Placement School: A Sophisticated Nongraded Curriculum.* West Nyack, New York: Parker Publishing Company, Inc., 1965. pp. xiv-xv.

There have been numerous examples of secondary schools around the country which have instituted organizational innovations with little thought to the curriculum which is being implemented, or to the techniques of teaching which might be employed. At the same time, we have had examples of curriculum innovations in subject fields which have been severely handicapped because of a traditional, inflexible organization in the schools. It is imperative that both of these elements be considered. A better organization can encourage curriculum innovation and make more rapid progress possible. There will be more assurance of success if teachers are provided time to plan and opportunities to work with other teachers within a framework which permits them to break the lockstep of the past sixty years.

What Has Been Tried

A number of "lighthouse" schools around the nation have dared to implement new patterns of organization aimed at providing a better education for secondary school youth.

Innovations such as team teaching, flexible scheduling, different patterns of staff organization, and nongraded programs show great potential. These practices are efforts to provide a better learning environment that sometimes eludes our grasp. Such practices signal a beginning.

The use of computers with such programs as the Generalized Academic Simulation Program (GASP), and the Stanford Plan for Scheduling by computer, has made it possible to organize schools with more flexibility and more opportunity for independent study by pupils, as well as for more effective teaching by the professional staff.

Ridgewood High School, Norridge, Illinois (GASP) and John Marshall High School, Portland, Oregon (Stanford Plan) are excellent examples of a modular scheduling plan. Using modules of 20 minutes, these two schools have established time units based on the need in particular subject fields and based on the type of instructional activity to be employed.

Refinements in the use of computer scheduling should make it possible to build a program for each student on the basis of individual assessment of needs, interests, background and ability, rather than putting all pupils over the same hurdles in the same kind of curriculum. Machines can be utilized to help us do a better job for boys and girls, but it is very important that we have clearly in mind the purposes of the secondary school and what we are trying to accomplish. For, as Lloyd Trump has stated:

> Modern electronic data processing equipment can be a boon to the further development of quality in education. It can also be used to do faster what should not be done anyway and thus delay or forestall changes that could improve dramatically the service of schools to individual students. . . .[6]

It is a false assumption that all subjects in the curriculum should be given the same amount of time. In considering a new kind of organizational pattern for Joel E. Ferris High School, Spokane, Washington, the teachers were given an opportunity to determine the kinds of time allotments they wanted for their subjects. A team of teachers, responsible for a subject, considered the purposes of the course, the pupils who would be involved, the kinds of learning activities to be employed and the materials to be used. Based on this information certain time allotments were requested.

The biology team, for instance, established two 45-minute large-group sessions per week and two laboratory classes of 90 minutes each.

Teachers of French I asked for one 30-minute large group meeting per week and two small groups per week of 45 minutes each. In addition to these classes, each pupil was asked to schedule for himself 1½ hours per week in the language laboratory.

The pupils in this school have about one-third of their school week free from scheduled classes and during this unscheduled time they are free to work any place on the campus. For instance, it is possible to spend additional time in the science laboratory or the library or the listening center as determined by the pupil. Some pupils, already well advanced in a subject field are excused from participation in scheduled classes. Teachers are also free from classes at least one-third of the week, so that teachers and pupils can get together for individual conferences and for planning independent study projects suited to individual needs.

Team teaching offers an opportunity to utilize staff more effectively. The definition proposed by Shaplin and Olds in their book titled *Team Teaching* is generally accepted.

> Team teaching is a type of instructional organization involving teaching personnel and the students assigned to them, in which two or more teachers are given responsibility, working together, for all or a significant part of the instruction of the same groups of students.[7]

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[6] J. Lloyd Trump. "Developing and Evaluating a Class Schedule To Help Each Pupil Learn Better." *Journal of Secondary Education* 36: 338; October 1961.

[7] Judson T. Shaplin and Henry F. Olds, Jr. *Team Teaching*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1964. p. 15.

Many different kinds of team teaching may be used. The essence of team teaching is a sharing of the teaching act. Individual differences of teachers can be recognized and teacher strengths can be utilized. Not every teacher of English is equally proficient in dealing with all aspects of the subject. Some teachers are better prepared and have a greater interest in the study of literature, while other teachers can deal more effectively with the development of composition skills and still other staff members are proficient in the teaching of reading. By making use of special talents and preparation of teachers, pupils get a better education because they are able to work with the teacher most competent in that phase of the program.

One of the most important advantages of team teaching is the opportunity provided for teacher growth. Teachers learn from each other. An excellent opportunity is also provided for orientation of new teachers because they are able to work on a team with an experienced staff.

The activities employed in team teaching suggest different groupings of pupils. Teachers use large group instruction for tasks that can be effectively accomplished in that setting. Large group instruction is *not* the only or even the most important phase of team teaching. The history of team programs that have been in effect for a period of several years, shows a lessening of the time devoted to large group instruction. Large group instruction does gain time for the teachers and the pupils so that small groups of twelve to fifteen can be built into the program. Small discussion groups give teachers and pupils an opportunity to get to know each other well and enable pupils to test their ideas against those of other pupils in the class.

The use of independent study as a part of this total organization is one of the most important elements and, thus far, probably the least effective. Pupils should be helped to understand their role in this part of the learning process and to accept increasing responsibility for learning. Teachers need to learn the role of independent study and how this phase of learning might be employed to best advantage. Pupils in the secondary school should have increasingly more time for independent study as they learn how to use this time more effectively.

Apprehension on the part of some teachers about the use of noncertified personnel in the schools is not realistic. Many teachers view the use of lay personnel as a threat to their professional status, when, in fact, the use of clerical aides and instructional aides, as demonstrated by a number of schools, can support the role of the teacher and help him to function in a truly professional way.

The Year of the Non-conference, sponsored by the NEA's National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards is enlisting support for the idea of specialized personnel to work with the teacher. If the teacher can be freed from many of the perfunctory tasks, he then has this additional time to spend working with individual pupils and herein lies the real "pay dirt" in this work of education.

We must make use of the technological innovations available to schools. New tools to facilitate learning do not make the teacher obsolete, but the teacher who does not make use of these new tools is obsolete. Classroom films did not replace the competent teacher, likewise newer instructional aids will not replace him—only make him more effective. The teacher who does not make use of television, the tape recorder, the overhead projector, the 8mm projector, listening centers, and programmed instructional materials where available and appropriate is not as effective as he could be in providing a total learning environment for pupils.

Good programmed instructional materials are ideal for use by the individual pupil. More extensive use should be made of programming, for there is much the pupil can learn on his own and thus save teacher time. We need an abundance of programmed materials to take pupils through short units of work as a part of a total course. Teachers themselves should be engaged in the development of materials of this type—there is no better way for a teacher to think through what he wants to accomplish, the understandings he wants the pupils to gain and the structure necessary to achieve these goals.

Computer Assisted Instruction offers a rich opportunity to provide for individual differences of pupils. The Brentwood Elementary School, East Palo Alto, California, has first grade pupils engaged in learning mathematics and reading by use of the computer. Another example is the CAI program in science and mathematics developed for use with pupils at Bingham Junior High School in Kansas City, Missouri.

The use of television in the schools has been greatly enhanced with the advent of inexpensive video tape recorders. In speech improvement, the pupil can be aided by viewing and hearing his own presentation. Dwight Allen at Stanford University has demonstrated the effectiveness of television for the training of teachers. If a student teacher can view a video tape recording of himself before a class he has an excellent tool for self-improvement.

Nongraded programs in some secondary schools have been organized to give each pupil an opportunity to learn at his own rate of speed. Melbourne High School, Melbourne, Florida, and Nova High School, Fort Lauderdale, Florida, have implemented programs designed to allow pupils continuous progress according to individual achievement.

More progress in ungrading has been apparent in the elementary schools, but secondary schools must come to realize that the traditional, graded structure does not really serve the needs of pupils if they are to be permitted to progress as individuals.

Second Thoughts

The efforts of schools engaged in experimentation such as the examples previously mentioned should be recognized as a valuable contribution to the improvement of secondary education. Persons from innovating schools, however, would be the first to admit that there are many unsolved problems.

Much of our work to this point has been piecemeal, a tacking-on process or a patchwork kind of planning. Superficial organizational work without an attendant effort to think through meaningful opportunities for pupils will accomplish little. Too often well-conceived programs have been thwarted by an unbending schedule. A good schedule can provide flexibility and make good things possible for teachers and pupils. If teachers have time for planning with other teachers (this can be incorporated into a schedule), and if they have the inclination, an opportunity for curriculum development can be built into the program. Curriculum development and better organization must go hand in hand if we are really to do a better job for boys and girls. Placing teachers in any new organizational scheme without their involvement, without adequate time for careful planning, without well defined objectives, and without a thorough understanding of new teaching roles will accomplish little.

If a principal makes an independent decision that team teaching will be used in social studies for the next term and so informs his teachers when they report for the beginning of the school year in September, the plan is doomed to failure. Everyone involved in the implementation should be involved in the planning. The group decision should be made well ahead of the target date for beginning a new program and adequate time for planning should be provided by some means such as released time for teachers or a summer workshop.

A longer school day should be considered. The pupil's work can be accomplished more effectively in the school where he has the use of such facilities as the listening laboratory, science laboratory, the library, laboratories for art, homemaking, and industrial arts. At school, teachers are available to provide counsel and guidance when needed. If a pupil's work is done at school he then has time for out-of-school learning experiences that are important—recreational reading, concerts, viewing worthwhile programs on television, visiting art museums, and similar experiences. Perhaps he can even have time to do some of these things with other members of his family!

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So, We Have Not Yet Solved All of the Problems!

We need an opportunity for individual pupils to develop according to their potential. The need for self-direction is well stated by Arthur Combs:

> Schools which do not produce self-directed citizens have failed everyone—the student, the profession, and the society they are designed to serve. The goals of modern education cannot be achieved without self-direction. We have created a world in which there is no longer a common body of information which everyone must have. The information explosion has blasted for all time the notion that we can feed all students the same diet. Instead, we have to adopt a cafeteria principle in which we help each student select what he most needs to fulfill his potentialities. This calls for student cooperation and acceptance of major responsibility for his own learning.[8]

Much remains to be done, but we have made a start. Some schools have dared to lead out toward a better education for secondary school youth. We need to build on their successes and learn from their failures in a constant effort to improve.

Innovating schools are characterized by a fierce spirit of unrest. There is dissatisfaction with what is presently being done, and a sense of personal commitment by teaching personnel to improve the way pupils' needs are met. As Bair and Woodward suggested, the spirit is difficult to express, it can only be felt. A visitor to an innovating school has a strong sense that here, more so than in most schools, are teachers who deeply care about what happens to their pupils.[9]

It is important for us to foster this spirit of unrest. We must seek the better way. There should always be room for heresy—for the new, creative, challenging idea. But let us be careful that the new idea, once adopted, does not become the new tradition. The final answer is not to be found. Let us guard against the time when the seeming heresy of today may become the unchallenged gospel of tomorrow.

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[8] Arthur W. Combs. "Fostering Self-Direction." *Educational Leadership* 23 (5): 373; February 1966.

[9] Medill Bair and Richard G. Woodward. *Team Teaching in Action*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964. p. 34.

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Youth Education: Promises

DWIGHT W. ALLEN

BEHIND every promise lies the threat of failure, and if the education of our youth has never held such promise, neither has the failure of education threatened such dire consequences. Matched against the incredible prosperity of our society is a mortal threat to its survival. Whether subsequent generations are led toward or away from extinction will depend in large part upon the kind of education we give them or, more exactly, on the education they gain. It is a responsibility that demands that we in education abandon the sanctuary of the grand abstraction universal education has become, the false security of established tradition, and the comfortable certainties of knowledge that lack the humility of wisdom. Education cannot guide change without changing itself. When education follows, only fools can lead.

Education is, for better or worse, the outcome of a relationship established between an individual child, his parents, his teachers, fellow pupils, the school, and the community, weighed against the child's own personal capacities, needs, and desires over time. The complexities of this equation cannot be solved by a school system obsessed by its own needs and prerogatives. All the problems of school financing, staffing, housing, and organization are secondary to the problems of that boy smoldering in the back of the room who cannot read, or the bright girl in the front row who holds him in contempt. Universal education has been a brilliant success in bringing them both to school, but in many such cases it has been a success in logistics and a failure in education. This is a failure for which society, and ultimately the system, must pay in the future, and a failure which free men may be unable to bear. This is a failure that can never be avoided until educators and the system they sponsor are willing themselves to risk failure.

Every success that becomes an end in itself bends toward failure.

That is the story of human progress and regression. The success of mass education to-date has no meaning if it does not move toward that boy in the back of the room. His survival at all the levels in which he has the capacity to survive is the goal toward which civilization has been building and must continue to build. He is that individual whom civilization has never been able to ignore without taking a step backward. It may be the unique distinction of our time that behind the progress we have made gapes the abyss, the obverse side of the great promise to which mass education and our technology have brought us. However often it may stumble along the way, education must rush to that boy, and if it reaches him, cling to him. He is the promise, the meaning of education.

There are effective means at hand for reaching the boy at the back of the room, but none of them are to be found without searching. Such means are not usually discovered by polysyllabic theorizing on individualized instruction within the school system as it stands. Theorizing often represents no more than clever ways to compromise the absence of individual tutors. The complex problems involved in the equation stated earlier are well beyond the capacities of any tutor. The boy in the back of the room needs an education that is better for being his own and that is his own because it addresses him distinctly in terms of his own needs and life experience. Multiplying the means by which school systems now operate whether it be teachers, buildings, or instructional materials, may or may not produce this result, may solve the school system's problems without ever taking his education into account. Instead of his problems becoming the problems of education, which they are in fact, this pupil continues to be viewed as a problem to education. First priority must be given to reaching him with the resources at hand. Such resources are much more versatile than the uses to which we have so far put them would indicate.

To Accommodate Education

Lest the boy smoldering at the back of the room become lost once again in one of the educational categories which only vaguely comprehend him—tenth grader, adolescent, potential dropout, nonacademic—let us call him hereafter Ed, realizing it is also Ed on the honor roll, Ed who graduates in June, and Ed from the Inner City, to whom school has always been a great middle class mystery.

Whoever he is, and we have always underemphasized the fact that he is somebody first and a student only incidentally, Ed's day in school is scheduled in blocks of time that tradition has defined as most expedient to the smooth operation of the school. Consequently, Ed takes English one hour a day five days a week whether he can learn to conjugate the verb "to be" in ten minutes or whether it takes him ten days. The school might like to accommodate Ed, to give him ten hours to learn this unit or to let him learn something else for the remaining forty minutes, but it is held back by the notion that time is not only a limited resource, but that for the purposes of operating the school the ways for expending time are immutable.

If Ed is slow, the school may put him with slow learners to spare his feelings or with quick learners to spur him on, and in both cases may discourage him altogether. Conjugating the verb "to be" might be more appropriately learned in a small group, or a large group, or in the library, at home, or at some other time, or, shockingly enough, not at all, at least by Ed. But such questions involve educational decisions that cannot even be considered when there are only so many hours for English grammar (hours that must somehow be occupied), just so many teachers to teach it, just so many rooms to teach it in, and just so many students to be taught. In such a situation, English grammar must be taught within a schedule which human capacities dictate must be arranged in more or less equal and interchangeable units or class periods.

It would be only honest to admit that until recently this was by and large true. Ed's need for more or less time and the possible need for greater variety in the modes used in instructing him could not be included as a factor in balancing the students, teachers, time, rooms, and other educational resources into a school master schedule. Since the school master schedule had to be put together by hand, there were too many variables to be dealt with at one time. Now, however, the master schedule can be put togther by a computer programmed to handle all these variables simultaneously. Computer scheduling has made time a highly flexible and versatile resource and has found time for Ed in the schedule. English grammar can be scheduled ten or twenty minutes a day every day; two hours every other day; forty minutes a week; in classes of 120 students, 30 students, 5 students; or scheduled for Ed to learn by himself during a third of his day set aside for independent study. Flexible scheduling using a computer and certain noncomputer techniques for introducing flexibility in applying school resources, such as block scheduling, have not, however, solved the problem of how to go about educating Ed. They have only helped to make going about it a viable issue.

What it is appropriate for Ed to learn, when he should learn it, how it should be taught, by whom, and the criteria for evaluating whether or not he has learned anything are the educational issues with which new opportunities for flexible programs confront us. On such issues time was once followed as a tyrant rather than scheduled as a tool. Breaking the lockstep pattern of the traditional school schedule has given us greater latitude in the way we might apply all the other resources of education and at the same time has imposed on us the obligation to direct their use to solving the problems of each student. This new freedom and that granted by knowledge gained in other areas of educational research make indefensible educational practices that ignorance and the expedients of the system once justified. If we retreat from this freedom into a new orthodoxy, Ed, whom we are just beginning to notice, will be lost, and with him the purpose of education in our time.

The problems of education today, then, are Ed's problems, no more and emphatically no less. As such, they are individual human problems and not problems in public school logistics. Such problems cannot be overwhelmed by a massing of resources, but depend for a solution upon a flexible application of intelligence to suit the individual case. It is no longer sufficient for education to war upon ignorance; it must apply to reason. Nor is there any longer time to rationalize an educational utopia. We must act upon what we know even as we continue to inquire. Ed, when he becomes an adolescent, knows he is not what he was, cannot remain what he is, and fears what he may become. Education can only lead him through this confusion to meaningful maturity by becoming less an academic ritual and more a matter of living, inquiring, and caring.

The academic ritual of schools today might serve Ed's needs nicely if he is a bright middle class model enthused over the values his parents hold, secured by their self-assurance, and a willing partner to their expectations. Then again it may not. But since whatever problems he may have are no problem to the functioning of the school or the system as we know it, it is not likely anyone will seriously inquire into them. Under these circumstances, it is possible for Ed to move through school and graduate by getting grades and minding rules without having learned to learn, to love to learn, or to challenge his inherent capacities—in a word, with no more than chronological evidence of having approached maturity.

Even assuming Ed is that ideal who graduates an academic and personal success, we must ask ourselves by what criteria he has succeeded, ours or his, and if ours, whether they measure success at all. Does his A average measure his proficiency in the subjects he has been taught or his adaptation to the life style within the school system? Does he owe his obvious proficiency in French to the four years he spent in French classes or might he have achieved the same proficiency in one year under more flexible circumstances? Are the social values he has successfully assimilated necessarily good and, if questionable, have they been assimilated as such? Are the extrinsic rewards education has bestowed on him qualified by intrinsic values that enlarge his being?

It is only in answer to questions such as these that the substance of

Ed's success can be measured. Such questions must be asked because it is only by satisfactorily answering them that we can conclude that Ed has transcended his education by design.

To Change Education

Where do we begin with Ed? This is the only meaningful way to ask where to begin changing education. We must begin by honestly admitting that our successes, however grand, either statistically or in fact, do not compensate for our failures. The answer to where to begin changing education is to begin where we see we have failed and are failing students, Ed individually and Ed ad infinitum. We must perceive and proceed from our errors.

Perhaps one of our gravest errors is the certainty with which we teach what we do. School is school and life is life and Ed, by law and implication, must finish one before participating in the other. The fact that this is half true, that indeed school is not life, at least not the whole of it, is particularly dangerous. The threat that life might become like schools as we know them, if nothing else, should impel us to take great risks in education. Life is full of alternatives and risks, lacking in certainty, and rich in the kind of promise only searching can discover.

I am not suggesting that we turn the administration of the school and all educational choices over to Ed any more than I am recommending anarchy to society. In the final analysis Ed would not appreciate that any more than we would. I am suggesting we could offer Ed more alternatives than we do in what we teach, the way we teach it, and in the way in which he occupies his time in school. If we were more honest we would patronize him less and candidly admit we are only doing our considered best to prepare him for a future in which some of our present values and modes of survival may not apply. He is no more convinced of our infallibility than we are, and he finds the arrogant veneer with which the adult world tries to shield its inward doubt frightening, not reassuring. He seeks adult guidance, depends upon adult judgment, and finds security in adult approval, but knows he is betrayed when these proceed from empty slogans, rationalized prejudice, and hypocrisy. Avoiding this betrayal calls for educators to admit no more than that self-knowledge is a lifetime pursuit and demands that they enlarge Ed's opportunity to explore experience in school and stand ready to aid him in emergencies that arise as the search deepens.

The school curriculum is a significant element in the search. As such it should be experienced, not just endured. It is not necessary that Ed love every subject he takes to experience it. If he dislikes math, yet willingly accepts its challenge, and derives satisfaction from struggling with it, he will experience it. It is not always what he takes, but the spirit in which he takes it that is relevant to his education. Certainly what he takes will be relevant, and in a particularly negative way, if it exceeds his capacity to learn. The point is that the curriculum must be expansive enough, the modes for presenting it varied enough, and the means for evaluating it accurate enough to determine what these capacities are. If the school provides him with a world big enough and an environment flexible enough to accommodate Ed's place in school, he will find it instead of dropping out.

Helping Ed experience his education cannot be accomplished merely by multiplying the curriculum. This has been our startled and in some ways self-defeating response to the twentieth century's so-called "explosion of knowledge." A great deal more might be accomplished by inquiring whether we are doing all we can in the realm of ordering, pacing, and articulating the subjects we teach. Geometry, which has been successfully taught in elementary school, is usually taught in the tenth grade because algebra is taught in the ninth, or is taught in some other grade for some equivalently irrelevant reason. Were mathematics a significant part or background of every day throughout his school experience, Ed might be able to take its relevance for granted and be spared having math burst upon him in high school as a threat. Or Ed might find time to profit from a course in logic or ethics if when he demonstrated his interest and competence in English in the tenth grade the remainder of his education in grammar, writing, and literature were left to his own management. The fact that our generation could not be scheduled to handle this kind of responsibility offers no evidence that the next cannot handle it. On the contrary, it may explain why lifelong learning is still beyond the intellectual means of the majority.

Enriching the curriculum to broaden Ed's education calls for a much more penetrating inquiry into *why* he must take four years of English instead of three of English and one of basket weaving than we have so far made. Certainly it is worth asking whether basket weaving is not more to the point of Ed's education in his senior year if he is a remedial reader being assigned to read Shakespeare, a circumstance of folly by no means potentially beyond his experience in existing schools. With audio tape, television, more efficient use of teacher time and teacher skills, he might learn a great deal about physics, auto mechanics, or anything else without having to dig it out of a book. As it is, his education is either postponed until he reads better or is abbreviated to the limits of his reading perception.

More often than not his person is so disfigured by the frustration he is subjected to by these attempts at his enlightenment that he at some point arbruptly concludes his education himself. There are ways to avoid this; the only thing that is lacking is the will to find these ways.

Too often the rules of education testify to the formality of the game and avoid any reference to the reality of the results. They require that Ed be educated with his chronological peers (sometimes refined to include his "ability track"), must learn from his teacher (irrespective of what the teacher knows), must get grades (here I purposely avoid the word "earn"), and must advance (in a direction which the game at least assumes to be forward). If this seems hard criticism in view of education's past accomplishments, it is only so if we accept the inevitability of losers. To Ed, if he is an educational loser, the description must seem too kind by far.

What damage would it do sixteen-year-old Ed to study social science with an eleven-year-old? We seem to fear it might damage his ego—as though his ego did not need to mature while he is being educated. Doubtless he might poison the eleven-year-old's mind, but so might the teacher, if the eleven-year-old's parents have not done so already. The association need not be a matter of ability grouping at all. How much better it would be if it resulted from the fact that Ed and the school system had discovered and agreed that there were more appropriate things for him to learn when he himself was eleven years old and he is just now getting around to social science. Is it not ironic that Ed and the eleven-year-old might have the same proficiency in Spanish but their age difference will disqualify them for the same class when equal proficiency on the violin will require them to study and perform with the same instrumental ensemble? There are undoubtedly many things Ed might learn, might even prefer to learn, in the company of the entire student body. Such small adjustments, which may in specific instances be vital to whether or not Ed learns anything at all, may be only small inconveniences to the school. Yet such adjustments apparently are only rarely made.

Some improvement in the way we group students, by activity or criteria other than chronological age, could be achieved simply by a wider application of common sense; others might indeed call for a revolution. But if we must turn the educational system upside down to bring Ed's education right side up, our obligation to do so is no less real. Traditionally, we in education have assumed there are common elements in the curriculum that must be taught to every student, including Ed. Undoubtedly there are, beginning with our notion of the three R's. It is certainly not my intention to imply we have been wrong in all our assumptions. Teaching the three R's to as many students as possible and ultimately to every child in the land was a goal nobly conceived and brilliantly achieved in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, an achievement more brilliant for having accommodated (to this purpose at least) the expansion of the three R's themselves.

The force of that imperative, to teach as many as possible, still weighs heavily upon us in the quantitative admonition to teach as much of the newly acquired knowledge as we can. The unhappy result is that we have a school system and a curriculum that emphasize teaching to the detriment of learning. Under the circumstances ruling fifty years ago, the best education possible and the most education possible were one and the same. But the education of Ed involves a qualitative imperative that makes the distinction nonacademic and clear, and, in the future, education will be either distinguished or denigrated by what Ed learns rather than by what he is taught.

Individualizing the Curriculum

Acting to benefit the education of each student requires a school that is not only content with but is intent on helping Ed learn as many of the three R's or variations on or additions thereto as he can—if not three, then one—on basing the curriculum Ed is taught on a foundation of what it can be demonstrated that he knows. A decision on what elements in the school curriculum all students must know is meaningless if we continue to assume Ed learns them by exposure. He learns them by virtue of his own capacities and when and how we teach him. This recommends that the curriculum, whether it be common elements, alternative elements, or individual elements selected by Ed on the basis of interest, be scaled and taught in terms of performance goals that demonstrate that Ed has learned and is ready to learn more. This means developing criteria other than the fact that he is in the tenth grade or that he has "had" ninth grade English and is therefore ready for tenth grade English. Criteria must be developed that assure him as well as his teachers that his grasp of simple sentences and paragraphing make composition his next logical move. It also means developing diagnostic criteria for determining whether the performance goals of English composition are either possible or desirable for Ed to achieve. The rules by which education often becomes a game do not comprehend what the common elements in the curriculum should be because they do not establish whether Ed specifically should learn them or even why.

For purposes of illustration, let us accept the fact that reading is an essential element in the curriculum all students must be taught. Does it follow that Ed must read Shakespeare or fail one subject in the eleventh grade because he cannot read this type of material? In a performance-oriented curriculum it would never be assumed that he should try, and there would be ample evidence for Ed as well as his teachers that he could read Shakespeare when it came time for him to do so. If he cannot grasp the poetry of Shakespeare, might it not be sufficient or especially important that he grasp the substance of the state vehicle code, if necessary, communicated in terms simple enough for him to understand?

Surely if Ed is taking remedial reading in the tenth grade and flunking history because he cannot read well enough, there is something very wrong with the concept of tenth grade, of tenth grade history, and of remedial reading, and not *only* with Ed. These wrongs indicate that his reading performance has never been measured, or, worse, that if it has, the results were ignored. Unless someone has diagnosed his reading handicap as irrelevant to his success in history, it means that the school, despite any protestations it may make, does not effectively care about Ed.

In a performance curriculum under which reading had been established as an irreducible minimum goal, Ed would not be taking remedial reading in the tenth grade; he would simply still be learning to read. Had there been performance and diagnostic criteria available earlier in his education, Ed's capacity and level of accomplishment might have been clear when it was useful to know them.

Early evaluation of Ed's performance would have indicated whether he should have taken reading two hours a day, or five hours a day every day, or every other day when he was eight years old, or should not have been taxed with learning to read until he was seven, or should have taken reading with no more than four other students, or should have been taught reading by a male teacher interested in sports, or directed toward reading skills by a variety of other means determined on the basis of what worked. In short, if the reading Ed does in the tenth grade is remedial, it is the failure of the schools that is being remediated. Whatever his fellow students may have been doing during reading instruction, Ed was doing time, not being taught.

Performance criteria could aim the curriculum at Ed by making his accomplishments both its objective and the yardstick for measuring its effect. Then education and self-knowledge could spring from the intrinsic rewards of actual mastery. The extrinsic rewards of grades and promotion are probably an adequate motive and an adequate measure of learning for many. But ironically, these are probably the many who either need no extrinsic reward or who would willingly compete on any basis. If Ed cannot or simply will not compete for grades, he usually is run over and left behind by those who can and will. If he does not compete and still succeeds, then he is the exception from whom the school could learn. Performance criteria that would isolate learning problems and motivate learning progress are not beyond our means—they have been applied in industry and the military for years.

If Ed's education proceeded on an increasing ability to achieve realistic performance goals, his learning problems would be more susceptible to diagnosis, and his instruction would be more susceptible to meaningful amendment. The goals now assumed for his education are both arbitrary and inflexible unless he falls quite by accident within the category of students which such goals describe. If he does not, a passing grade is more likely to be a discouraging abstraction than a factor motivating him to learn. Broad generalizations about the goals of the school, the department, and the curriculum must be reduced to performance criteria that are a dynamic part of Ed's school experience. Such criteria could affect not only the level of his performance but the adequacy and appropriateness of his course work. Instructional outcomes must gain ascendancy over means. Only when we really become more interested in what Ed learns than in what we teach and how we teach it will we be able to justify what we do in schools.

What might we do to individualize Ed's education, even within the context of schools as they are now organized? Might we not even make grades and earning them a more appropriate gauge and motive for achievement? Why not disavow borderline grades, which are after all essentially an admission of our inadequacies? If Ed hovers between a B and a C, why not require reevaluation of Ed's progress, or some additional work to resolve the ambiguity, or require whatever other evidence is needed to justify intellectually his getting one grade and not the other? One alternative to a low or failing grade might be an incomplete, granted on a more liberal basis than incompletes are granted now. In most schools it is now possible for Ed to complete a certain amount of work in a course at a high level of competence and still get a D for not having completed enough. An incomplete followed by an A in the middle of the following year would offer Ed more opportunity to learn and certainly greater accuracy in evaluating what he learned. Where the school considered an incomplete an administrative impossibility, it might consider giving him an A for what he did learn.

Making Exceptions by Design

If we are genuinely interested first in what a student learns we should consider letting him retake tests to improve his grade, if not as a rule then as the exception that Ed's performance in school may show itself to be. If we had valid performance criteria for gauging his progress in a given course there should be no reason for not letting him take the tests as often as necessary to demonstrate that he has attained a measurable level of achievement.

I do not suggest these alternatives to what we do as possible new rules for the game. Rather they are presented as possible techniques within our grasp for actively implementing individualized instruction and in specific cases, particularly in cases of students so far rarely confronted with success in school. Instead of the present haphazard pattern of alternating teacher lenience and intransigence, why not let exceptions be made by design? If a student rebels against an assignment, but can achieve the objectives of the assignment by substituting another of his own choosing, what *educational* justification is there for not allowing him to do so? In instances where this has been permitted, the student has almost inevitably set himself a task far more demanding than that originally assigned by the school. His choosing alternatives may well be as vital a part of his education as the assignment itself.

If grades are inevitable, certainly the way in which we apply them is not. We should at least try to make them relevant as an evaluation tool and an operable factor in learning. They might even aid in developing performance criteria and become integral to their operation if used properly. Retroactive grading offers one possibility. An open transcript would result in a much more pertinent record of Ed's competence than the immutable transcript that now outlines his academic progress. If we could bring ourselves to think of an "F" as recording something Ed has not learned instead of as something Ed has earned, there would be no reason not to change an F on his transcript to an A, once he had learned it. If Ed's transcript were made no more than a tentative reflection of his current status, he might be motivated to stay in high school long enough to obtain the education he needs, perhaps in more than four years. The fact that his learning level may now change but his transcript cannot may often account for his learning remaining at the low level which his transcript describes. If Ed flunks algebra and passes trigonometry by boning up on algebra, giving him a chance to change his grade in algebra would be an honest change of what would have become essentially a dishonest record.

Variable credit instead of variable grades is still another possibility for putting grades in their proper perspective, and in one sense would be a primitive form of performance criteria. If Ed obtained credit only for as much of a course as he completed at an A or B level, he might be encouraged by what he had learned to finish instead of being discouraged by some grade he expected. This implies that a one-year course might take him more than a year to complete, and that a course more relevant to the requirement for graduation than to his individual needs might be omitted. If the notion of invariable grades seems bizarre, consider the bizarre fact that we continue to award grades in instances where a pass or fail even under existing criteria would serve equally well. This is a fact we acknowledge by not counting certain grades, e.g., grades in physical education, in the calculating of grade averages.

As for course credit, our notions of its value beyond what the student to whom it was awarded actually learns also merit inspection. Although we now do not often award credit by examination in secondary schools, there would certainly be no reason for not doing so if credit were awarded strictly on the basis of demonstrated competence. Admittedly there are things learned by taking certain courses that cannot be measured by an examination. On the other hand some things can be, and, if courses were directed more toward actual performance goals, more things could be. Still it does not follow that since we cannot measure everything we should not measure anything. If a practical exam shows that Ed has become a highly competent typist at home, why not give him credit for typing? If he speaks Spanish fluently, why not give him credit for beginning Spanish and let him enter an advanced Spanish course? What educational prerogatives do we defend by penalizing Ed for learning to type or to speak Spanish at home? This should but does not seem to embarrass us.

Involving Students in Decisions

As another means to opening education to more alternatives we might consider letting students have some say in whether they take a course for credit and in how much credit they should get for taking it at all. If Ed doubts he will do well in chemistry and wants to take it for one unit of credit instead of three, we might acknowledge the value of his taking any chemistry by letting him do this. If he can travel twice as far in chemistry as the curriculum calls for, why not let him have six units of credit? Or if he wants to audit the course because he has doubts about his ability, then turns out to be a whiz and changes his mind about credit, why should we not change ours? Instead, we put ourselves in the indefensible position of saying, "You cannot get credit unless you promise to do something in advance." A concrete example of this absurdity is the book report for which a student is denied credit because he read the book in advance.

If we examine why we give credit we may become more rationally concerned with how much credit a given student actually needs. There may be a good reason why Ed's course load should be significantly heavier or lighter than Bill's. If Ed has an exceptionally light load, say two courses in which he is highly motivated to learn and highly successful, is it better to hold him to some course load standard under which he fails everything? We also might consider the possible benefit Ed might derive from taking a course in which he does poorly simultaneously from two different teachers and hold him to the requirements of only that class in which he does better. By suggesting that unless Ed takes five of something in the curriculum he is not in school, we are implying that the school is in the business of education only incidentally.

On the other hand, the organization of our schools often suggests that education is their business exclusively. The possibility that students failing for similar reasons might learn from each other or that students failing might themselves learn from teaching others or that students might learn more from the community than from the school is rarely broached. Such possibilities are potentially great educational opportunities. Failing students have shown remarkable progress in their own education after being assigned responsibility for tutoring younger children.

In experiments with letting small groups of students who were failing work together on all their assignments and tests (a circumstance we would normally label as cheating), we found that this practice resulted in great improvement for some and continued failure for others. The significance is that this arrangement did work in individual cases and in most cases with students on whom everything else had been tried without success. A social studies class working from door to door in their community and with their city planning commissions, learned enough about community planning to formulate a plan for park and recreational facilities development which was adopted by their community. These need not remain isolated instances.

Nor is the educational work of particular school departments necessarily exclusive to those departments. Through a program in which the vocational, science, and English curriculums were meaningfully integrated, one school graduated twelve pupils who had been potential dropouts with an overall D-plus average in the first year of the program's operation, and all of these pupils qualified to continue their education. One became an honors graduate from the maritime academy and several continued their education in junior college. One succeeded as an engineering student and another as an English major in a university. This experience and those previously described represent opportunities that were missed by Ed simply because they were not sought by his school. The business of education is Ed, and the more schools fail, at least in trying to provide for him, the more incidental their role in education becomes.

Much of that which is most promising for the education of youth lies dormant today in our universities, though many of the techniques for reaching Ed, as I have tried to suggest, need not begin there. We should not wait so long to apply educational research results on a large scale. The ultimate failure to individualize education is the *failure to try*. Success must risk even failure in the attempt. Flexible scheduling opened the program to innovation and experimentation in more than a hundred schools, but not without setbacks along the way.

Great efforts are being made to develop and simultaneously to implement new curricula based on performance- rather than time-oriented criteria. We are experimenting with new procedures for continuously monitoring individual student progress, and early experience shows these procedures may have unanticipated promise as a motivating device. Yet the more we discover about new teaching techniques, new programs, new applications for technology such as scheduling and programmed learning, and about learning processes themselves, the more obvious it becomes that all that we discover and much of what we know waits to be resolved at the point of contact between pupil and teacher. If our knowledge and our technology fail to enlarge upon its meaning and bypass this point, we risk the tyranny of a new orthodoxy in education that will make our present failures seem benevolent indeed.

The Good Teacher

We cannot enlarge the meaning of Ed's contact with his teacher and not take the teacher into account. Flexibility in the schedule under which he learns, in the alternatives to what he learns, in the facility in which he learns, and in how and when he learns what he does will be the most notable factor for meeting Ed's need to prepare for an uncertain future; but the catalyst for bringing this flexibility to bear upon his education will still be the teacher. It is quite unlikely that we can expand Ed's opportunities to learn without expanding his teacher's opportunity to teach. We cannot liberate Ed's education from the vices of the system while retaining the teacher as its victim.

If we doubt the frequency of the role of the teacher as victim in the typical school organization today, consider how often a new teacher with little experience and no seniority in a school well endowed with community resources finds himself facing a class of students the "old hands" have rejected as too dull or too brutish to be included in their teaching schedule. The inconsistency between this situation and the altruistic goals of the school is simply disregarded. Teachers are assigned as though they were as interchangeable as the interchangeable time blocks of the traditional school schedule. If the beginning teacher survives the initial onslaught of his first few years of teaching, he is rewarded with tenure, growing seniority, and incremental advances in pay. The system is neither efficient in terms of the objectives it claims for itself nor fair. The cynicism it has generated we may be a long time living down.

Significantly, teachers in schools that have introduced innovations such as flexible scheduling, independent study time, variable grouping, and team teaching have been willing to adjust to change at great personal sacrifice. The fact that they have offers greater hope for individualizing education than we might reasonably have expected. This assures us that we have a large core of conscientious teachers with a sense of professionalism that unprofessional school staffing policies have so far failed to crush. It does not, however, make up for great teaching talent that lies dormant, that is wasted, that moves away from the students into administration, or that simply gives up in disgust.

The answer to the present irrational teacher staffing patterns under which attempts to achieve flexibility and innovation struggle and often fail, lies in recognizing the same individuality in teachers that the needs of education today call upon us to recognize in students. We can and must create a differentiated teaching staff in which responsibility is assigned where it is sought and where talent lies. Proposals such as merit pay are not proposals for change at all, since they attack the symptoms without advancing the cure. Merit pay does not compensate Ed if his education is surrendered to a teacher who does not merit such pay. Such an arrangement merely compounds the waste by raising the expense. The number of former teachers who cite lack of professional satisfaction over money as their reason for abandoning the profession predicts failure for all such suggestions.

We need to examine proposals for assigning and rewarding teachers that put the value of the teacher's role in proper perspective and give a full range of opportunity to the development and exercise of teaching skill and talent represented by individual capacities. Proposals should be advanced that do not necessarily mean a bigger budget but a more equitable distribution of that budget, and not necessarily more teachers but more efficient assignment of teaching resources and skills. As an absolute minimum, I would suggest that any new staff structure include at least three staff teaching levels, each with a different salary range; a maximum salary in the top range at least double the maximum in the lowest; and substantial direct teaching responsibility for all teachers in all teaching levels, including the highest.

Under a foundation grant, one school district is already organizing and plans to implement a differentiated teaching staff structure that includes four levels of teaching responsibility within which teachers at the top two levels are hired on a yearly contract basis and those in the lower two retained on tenure. The structure is completely flexible in that a teacher may move from one level to any other level on the basis of responsibility and talent alone. This plan accommodates an overall annual salary range of from $6,000 to $18,000 within the existing budget.

The success of the foregoing proposal might be expected to depend heavily on the fact that it is being developed and implemented to meet needs in the particular school in which it will be applied. The same is likely to be true elsewhere. Whatever form a differentiated teaching staff might take, the need for breaking present staffing patterns is certain and perhaps best described by the advantages taking such a step would be expected to accrue. First of all, teaching jobs would be identified in terms of what is needed to be done and teachers would be assigned on the basis of competence. In other words, assignments would be more in keeping with pupil needs and on a basis for which salary differentiation could be established to the satisfaction of school boards, administrators, and teachers alike. It should be obvious why the advantages of a rational school staff structure would benefit each student. The following are a few of the advantages we could anticipate through such a structure:

> Good teachers, who deserve as much money as administrators, would be able to afford a career in classroom teaching.
>
> There would be a place on the staff for teachers for whom no amount of money can make up for a lack of creative job satisfaction.
>
> There would be a place for talented teachers who only want limited professional responsibility (e.g., the teaching housewife).
>
> Teachers would be able to take postgraduate courses to make themselves more competent in their specific jobs, instead of taking courses on an indiscriminate units-equals-dollars basis.
>
> Better teachers put to better use would put the teacher shortage in its proper perspective.
>
> Longevity, with all its educationally crippling effects, would cease to be a criterion for promotion.
>
> In-service teacher education could be an internal program aimed at solving problems at hand rather than problems as perceived by someone once or twice removed from the school's student population.
>
> Supervision would emphasize direction and guidance from fellow teachers with demonstrated ability, rather than evaluation only.
>
> Evaluation could be based on real knowledge drawn from intimate contact and cooperation between teaching professionals.
>
> Many existing problems in negotiating salaries and existing differences between professional teachers and administrators would disappear in a staff structure wherein status derives from performance and competence.
>
> Young talent (these days often the best informed) would be encouraged to grow. The school would regain some control over apportioning dollars now

committed to perpetuating the median rise in salary cost brought about by tenure, longevity, and automatic promotion practices.

Teacher education in the colleges could begin to focus on preparing teachers to handle specific responsibilities and specific teaching skills.

The top talent would be free to seek the best alternative teaching techniques, learning modes, and innovations in general through persistent liaison with colleges, universities, and other schools.

Counseling and interpersonal student-teacher relationships could be established at more profound levels of personal choice and personal relevance.

To continue to staff schools, assign responsibility, and pay teachers as we do, is to continue to battle for change at the expense of the student. A rational staffing pattern, open-ended to functions already identified and to identifying new functions, is the key to one end of the bridge between teacher and student where education takes place. New patterns of teacher assignment could breathe personality back into a relationship that has become with rare exceptions a stereotype. These patterns of teacher assignment would multiply the chances that Ed would find that special teacher who could plant for him the seed of knowledge that would enhance his educational experience and would multiply the opportunities for this teacher to find and to help Ed at the point of need.

The Threat and the Promise

Reaching Ed with an education may mean reaching him over the wall of a brutal home environment which imprisons his will to learn and his capacity to know. Up to now the schools have, by and large, declared competition with the home no contest and have allowed the fiction that education is equally available to children from all walks of life to persist. If Ed's living experience at home is degrading and his family indifferent or perhaps even hostile to his education, the challenge to the school is admittedly great. But it is no contest only because most schools helplessly surrender. Schools must find ways to reach out into the community to the people, to bring them into the school, to make them care as much about Ed as they do about their own middle-class children. The school must risk removing its ear from the pulse of the powerful in the community and, where necessary, confront the community as its conscience. Its obligation to exercise the will of the majority must be subordinated to its responsibility to each student. Educators must seek answers in courage instead of constantly finding them in compromise.

The concept of the self-contained school day might begin to equalize Ed's opportunity to learn. It is within our means to build new programs, increase the availability of school resources, assign teachers, and schedule independent study time in an extended school day, say from eight to five, that would at once increase every student's opportunity to learn and yet encompass all each needed or ought to learn during a given day. When Ed must work twice as hard on his math homework assignment, without help, in an environment ablaze with television and family strife and then have his work graded and be tested on a curve that includes Bill, whose father helps him with his math in the luxury and quiet of the den, something terribly unfair is being done to Ed. In a school day scheduled with ample time to study, free use of always open facilities, that special teacher available for a few words of encouragement, and a chance to learn to interact and discuss issues alien to his home with a purposefully organized small group, Ed could learn about and ultimately live a reality he would otherwise never know. Equally important, Bill might learn about Ed, and to that girl in the front row to whom Ed was once a bump in the landscape, Ed might even become a friend. The self-contained school day would not be an ivory tower, it could be made as wide as the world that Ed's prison at home now shuts out. Nor should we forget that for all his advantages, perhaps Bill lives in a prison too.

Perhaps the great hope for education is that neither Bill nor Ed seems to be buying our failures and both are refusing to settle for an adult future in which material prosperity promises them everything but a good reason for living. The idealism of youth, based on a concern for their place as individuals in a society that teeters on the brink of oblivion, is our greatest asset and should be harnessed to making education easier. It may also be our salvation. Only by matching that idealism and that concern can we in education save it from being lost in a spiral toward greater efficiency at the expense of human values—an efficiency that, by itself, cannot save man from becoming one more of nature's failures.

The education of Ed, at whatever cost to efficiency, contains our promise and hope for the future simply because the human spirit lives from one man to the next and not in Humanity with a capital "H" or by the exclusion of any one of us. Our experience in this century alone confirms that the sweep of history that ignores this fact is a plunge downward. Where can the human spirit survive if it perishes in school? What have we to risk in education but our reputations? There is both the threat and the promise. In either case we must act, for we can only avoid the one by fulfilling the other.

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